

is education, whether public or private.

I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of granting the funds, no matter how large the sum. As my Colleague Yetina remarked a minute ago, roads, bridges, all that is fine, but as long as there is nobody in a position to appreciate the importance and the usefulness of these things, they will be useless. I insist on supporting this effort whose sole aim is the development of education.

Finally, by a majority vote, the Grand Council declared in favor of granting the missions the requested credits. Of course, the request itself had to be forwarded by the A.E.F. Government to the FIDES authorities since favorable decision was only made possible by the Grand Council's approval.

In 1955, the Congo Territorial Assembly was given another opportunity to state its position on some of the main educational problems of the Congo.¹²⁶ The matter under consideration, proposed modifications to the manner in which already approved total subsidies to private education were to be used, was first presented to the Assemblymen by the Administration as a clear-cut choice between the provision of educational opportunities to more Congolese girls and a salary increase to Congolese teachers of the Catholic missions. Bishop Bernard, of the Brazzaville diocese, had included 19 European missionaries in his application for subsidies. The Administration, with the approval of the Assembly, had agreed to pay the salaries of only ten of those teachers. A substantial part of the total grant for the year, 1955, was to be used to increase the African Catholic teachers' pay. Bishop Bernard protested that most of the nine European teachers left out of the subsidy list were to staff girls' schools and that unless a sum of 1,736,500 CFA francs was granted for their pay the mission's plan for the development of girls' education would be seriously jeopardized. The Administration claimed to be unable to add this sum to the already approved total grant and proposed that Bishop Bernard be allowed to take the sum out of the 13,868,250 francs already earmarked by the Assembly for increases in African teachers' pay.

The Assemblymen's first reaction was to urge the Administration to find some way to pay those nine teachers out of general or reserve funds. Upon the Administration's insistence that no such solution could be envisaged, the Assemblymen were faced with two equally unpleasant alternatives: turn down the Administration's proposal and thus run the risk of being accused of neglecting the education of girls or accept

126. Assemblée Territoriale du Moyen-Congo: Proververbal Provisoire de la Séance du 10 mai, 1955, pp. 42-69. (Mimeographed.)

the proposal and betray the interests of one of the most vocal groups among the African voters. As indicated earlier, private school teachers had long suffered from being paid much less than their public school colleagues. Encouraged by the mission authorities, they had come to believe that they were being paid low salaries because their representatives in the Assembly did not grant the missions sufficiently large subsidies. But there was little the Assemblymen could do directly to increase teachers' pay: under the terms of the subsidy grants the Administration was entitled to "verify" the uses to which the funds were put after they were spent, but actual allocation of funds within the limits of the total grant was left to mission authorities.

The 1955 subsidy, however, had been made in two parts, one of some 63 million francs for general operating expenses and a special one (13,868,250 francs) to be divided among African teachers. Now, the Administration argued, paying nine European girls' school teachers out of this last amount, as the Administration proposed, did not mean a reduction in African teachers' pay but a slight reduction in the amount of new increases in their pay. The speciousness of this argument did not escape the Congolese Assemblymen who saw that the net result of the operation would be a reduction in the African teachers' future pay. The Assemblymen, as the missions probably hoped, first tried to have the Government increase the total mission subsidy. When this failed, the Assemblymen, as the Administration perhaps hoped, suggested that the Catholic missions could do without the additional funds. The missions had pioneered in the education of African girls and had provided such education to a limited extent for many years without special help from public funds. Besides, the Assemblymen reasoned, these girls' school teachers were already in the Congo and would be put to work in girls' schools whether or not the Government helped pay their salaries.

It is not certain that this involved question had to be brought to the attention of the Assembly in the first place. Bishop Bernard had used the girls' education issue as a way to get larger subsidies. The Administration, unwilling or unable to respond favorably, decided to take the funds where it knew it would hurt the Assemblymen, but hesitated to do so without the Assembly's approval. The Assemblymen clearly indicated that they wanted both education for girls and higher pay for African teachers. The question was "solved" by a majority adoption of the Administration's original proposal, provided that Bishop Bernard would give his written assurance that the African teachers' pay "would in no way be reduced as a result of his use of the 1,736,500 francs to cover the salaries of nine European teachers." The ambiguity contained in the term "reduce" was not dispelled, but the resolution satisfied the Assemblymen who could then assure their constituents that they had not compromised on either the principle of girls' education nor higher teachers' pay. On the other hand, it did not give the missions more funds but allowed them to pay European teachers out of funds previously earmarked for African teachers--so long as the net result did not bring about a reduction in the previous salary of their African teachers.

Finally, the Administration could not be blamed for allowing the use of funds for purposes not approved by the Assembly.

These two examples show clearly that Congolese leaders, from the time they were given a voice in the determination of educational policy, had two main preoccupations: 1) the provision of more educational facilities through the expenditure of ever larger funds from any sources available (public or private), and 2) the development of school programs and standards equivalent, rather, identical, to those of France. By the time the Congo was granted autonomy, its school system was one of the most highly developed in Africa, and except for minor adaptations, it was a reproduction of the French school system--minus the apex of the pyramid. The first step was even taken toward the introduction of higher education: the 1959 Federal budget, prepared before the four autonomous republics were born, included a new item entitled "propédeutique." This meant that funds were appropriated for the purpose of creating a post-secondary level class in preparation for higher education.¹²⁷

With the proclamation of autonomy, on November 28, 1958, the Congolese leaders received executive as well as deliberative powers to govern the Congo. The institutions they inherited were introduced very slowly at first, then at a fast pace during the post-war years. Now these leaders had the power to adopt, adapt, or reject the institutions they had inherited. The following school statistics covering the last full school year under French administration (1957-58) will give an idea of the nature and importance of the school system France left behind in the Congo.

On January 1, 1959, it was estimated that 72 per cent of the school-age population of the Congo was actually attending school.¹²⁸ But the source quoted in the following tables shows a wide variation in school attendance rates from one region to another, ranging from 49 per cent (Sangha) to more than 100 per cent in several areas. Rates exceeding 100 per cent were found because the school-age population was grossly underestimated. Following UNESCO practice, the school-age population was assumed to be equal to 15 per cent of the estimated total population, an obviously too low proportion. A 20 per cent base would have been much closer to reality. This would have produced an average school attendance rate of about 50 per cent with 25 per cent only in the case of girls. But it would have shown the Congo less favorably in comparisons with other African territories using the accepted 15 per cent base.

During the last year of French rule, the Congo education budget reached 1,205,265,900 CFA francs, or 26.2 per cent of the territory's budget. This amount does not include FIDES nor mission contributions.

128. Enseignement Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 25.

CONGO SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, JANUARY 1, 1958
NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPILS

Source)

TABLE 14

CONGO SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, JANUARY 1, 1958
NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND CLASSROOMS

Types of Schools	Public (N=187)	Private (N=295)	Total (N=482)
Regional Schools	62	59	121
Village Schools	121	221	342
Girls' Schools	4	15	19
Number of Classrooms	544	726	1,270

TABLE 15

TEACHER-TRAINING ENROLLMENT, JANUARY 1, 1958
(FIVE-YEAR POST-PRIMARY PROGRAM)

Institutions	Total of Four General Education Classes			Professional Training Class			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Public									
Dolisie	113	-		16	13				
Mouyoundzi	-	46		-	0				
Total			159			29	129	59	188
Private									
Chaminade	68	-		10	8				
Javouhey	-	11		-	-				
N'Gouédi	85	8							
Total			172			18	163	27	200

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, p. 42.

NOTE: In addition, the Catholic missions were training (two-year course) 110 boys and 14 girls to be "moniteurs" and "monitrices." The public system had no "moniteur-training" program.

TABLE 17

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, JANUARY 1, 1958

TABLE 16

École Professionnelle (Brazzaville) Boys Girls Total
 NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS, JANUARY 1, 1958

Grades	Public ^a			Private ^b			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Sixième	254	92	346	138	41	179	392	133	525
Cinquième	166	54	220	84	33	117	250	87	337
Quatrième	120	54	174	72	17	89	192	71	263
Troisième	71	46	122	57	13	70	133	59	192
Seconde	29	21	50	33	0	33	62	21	83
Première	26	24	50	10	0	10	36	24	60
Terminales:									
Philosophy	3	2	5	9	0	9	38	7	45
Science	8	4	12	0	0	0	8	4	12
Mathematics	17	1	18	0	0	0	17	1	18
Total	673	274	947 ^c	394	103	497	1067	378	1445

a. Pointe-Noire; Brazzaville.

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, p. 47.

b. Brazzaville (2); M'Bamou (Sem.).

c. Out of the 673 boys enrolled in public secondary schools, 202 were European and out of 274 girls, 231 were Europeans. Comparable figures for private education are not available.

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, p. 44.

TABLE 17

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, JANUARY 1, 1958

EVALUATION OF COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE			
Ecole Professionnelle (Brazzaville)	Boys	Girls	Total
The object of this section is to review briefly the main aspects of practice in the Congo over a period of more than three-quarters of a century and to submit critical judgments in policy and reported practice.			
1. Industrial section	113		113
2. "Moniteurs polyvalents" section	8		8
3. Commercial section			
First cycle	82	27	109
Second cycle	12	5	17
Total	213	32	247
The writer has adopted as an analytic tool the model earlier, of Professor Paul R. Hanna, "Model of Educational Investment in Education," which is viewed essentially as a process of communication consisting of "INPUT," a "message" and its "source," reaching "receivers" through various "channels" and "processes" ("THROUGH") and producing certain changes ("OUTPUT") in the behavior of the receivers. Mainly because of its high adaptability to different situations, this model is adopted in the present analysis. Its use will enable us to see some similarities and crucial differences that are produced when an educational message (that is, generalizations, values, Public (is) Private (is) Total			
in an indigenous culture and its formulation in transferred institutions.			
Total enrollment in Apprenticeship			
Sections (all boys):	142	60	202
In "manual" sections attached to regional schools (all boys):	248	164	412
In homemaking classes (all girls):	none	423	423
Total	390	647	1037
Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, p. 47.			

This, then, was the school system inherited by the Congo nation from France. For the size of its population, the Congo was perhaps the best educationally endowed of Africa's emerging nations.

The French government's involvement in Congo education during this period was limited to vague statements of intent and to half-hearted

1. Paul R. Hanna, "Conventional and Unconventional Education for Newly Developed Countries," in *America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education*, ed. Clarence Hunnicutt (Syracuse University: School of Education, 1962), p. 2.

support of missionary action--provided this action was consistent with the government's basic policy, that is, the use of French as the language of instruction and as a means for spreading French civilization and influence. Because of the provisions of the 1883 Act of Berlin, even this card

EVALUATION OF COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

The object of this section is to review briefly the main aspects of educational policy and practice in the Congo over a period of more than three-quarters of a century and to submit critical judgments in terms of the effectiveness of stated policy and reported practice.

In tackling this task the writer has adopted as an analytic tool the model, discussed earlier, of Professor Paul R. Hanna.¹ In this "Model of National Investment in Education," education--formal or informal--is viewed essentially as a process of communication consisting of "INPUT," a "message" and its "source," reaching "receivers" through various "channels" and "processes" ("THROUGHPUT") and producing certain changes ("OUTPUT") in the behavior of the receivers. Mainly because of its high adaptability to different situations, this model is adopted in the present analysis. Its use will enable us to see some similarities and crucial differences that are produced when an educative message (that is, generalizations, values, and skills) finds its source in an indigenous culture and its formulation in transferred institutions.

Criteria of functionality will be used to evaluate the effects of the French educative message transferred to the Congo. Educational policy and practice, then, will be judged "functional" or "dysfunctional" according to their objective consequences, that is, whether the objective "output" corresponds to the aims of the "input." to take precedence over the primary aim or to defeat its purposes.

Finally, the analysis will allow the writer to illustrate the circularity of the educative process over a period of time: the "output," that is, the receivers' changed modes of behavior, contributes to the formulation of a modified "input." This phase of the analysis should be particularly useful in evaluating educational developments in a newly independent Congo and in submitting the conclusions of this dissertation. as it was implicitly assumed that Congolese society itself would continue transmitting those cultural elements in the traditional manner.

French Educational Policy in the Congo from 1883 to 1905

beginning, one of the Catholic missionaries' chief concerns was to adapt their French-Catholic educative message to the norms. The French government's involvement in Congo education during this period was limited to vague statements of intent and to half-hearted and rejection of cultural elements present in the two cultures being in contact. This policy is based on the practical assumption

1. Paul R. Hanna, "Conventional and Unconventional Education for Newly Developed Countries," in America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education, ed. Clarence Hunnicutt (Syracuse University: School of Education, 1962), p. 2.

support of missionary action--provided this action was consistent with the government's basic policy, that is, the use of French as the language of instruction and as a means for spreading French civilization and influence. Because of the provisions of the 1885 Act of Berlin, even this cardinal rule could hardly be sanctioned by law. All France could do was give special encouragement to missionaries who would "naturally" adopt educational policies congruent with French cultural and political aims. Even this minimum effort was approved only by a handful of politicians in Paris and administrators in the Congo.

General policy conflicts which might have developed between Savorgnan de Brazza and the French business interests regarding human resource development in the Congo remained academic, since public formal education was not provided.

For over twenty years, then, the French government tried only indirectly to establish the basic elements of its educative message to the Congo populations. It never attempted to translate its basic policy into specific programs of studies, thus stopping short of carrying out the "input" phase of formal education in the Congo.

The Catholic Missions' Educational Monopoly: 1883-1905

The primary aim of the Catholic missionaries' action was to convert the Congolese to the Catholic religion, and in so doing to raise the "moral" level of the population. The secondary aim was to raise the material level of the population through general and vocational education. In no way was the secondary aim to be allowed to take precedence over the primary aim or to defeat its purposes.

The source of the Catholic missionaries' educative message was a dual one: the religious and moral teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and French civilization. In addition, the missionaries found in Congolese culture some elements worth preserving. Those elements, however, were not made a part of the formal curriculum developed by the missionaries: it was implicitly assumed that Congolese society itself would continue transmitting those cultural elements in the traditional manner.

From the very beginning, one of the Catholic missionaries' chief concerns was to adapt their French-Catholic educative message to the normative needs and to the receptive capabilities of the Congolese population. Adaptation, in this situation, implies selective adoption and rejection of cultural elements present in the two cultures being brought into contact. This policy is based on the practical assumption that cultures are composed of independent and interchangeable parts. Knowing how little this assumption corresponds to facts, one should not be surprised that adaptation attempts so often produce unexpected and, too frequently, undesired effects.

The requirements of Christian truths and moral standards constituted the Catholic missionaries first set of criteria in deciding what their Congolese pupils should learn; their second set of criteria was based upon the Congolese's presumed limited ability to learn and probable opportunities to use what they could learn as means of improving their social and economic conditions. According to the first set of criteria, the Congolese were automatically granted a status of equality with the whole family of man. But the second set of criteria clearly suggested a relationship of cause and effect between inferior learning ability and restricted social and economic opportunities on the one hand, and adaptation of formal educational structure and content to "Congolese conditions" on the other hand. This questionable relationship was assumed and, indeed, frankly stated on numerous occasions by the early Catholic missionaries. Their words and actions consistent with this position lie at the root of the Congolese's deep distrust for any form of "adaptation to African conditions." Adaptation and inferiority have become intimately associated in the minds of the Congolese and will probably remain so until adaptation is rather seen as "an African solution to an African problem."

The message resulting from the Catholic missionaries' many-sided adaptation policy may not have been very clear. Apart from the conflicts between the missionaries' teaching and the example of the French traders and administrators, internal contradictions undoubtedly existed in the missionaries' formal educative message. For instance, if the French priests were able to resolve for themselves the conflicts resulting from the combination of Judeo-Christian beliefs and ethics with the French scientific and industrial civilization, it is far from certain that their Congolese pupils were able at once to accomplish such a feat.

The early Catholic missionaries' blueprint for educational organization in the Congo--as described in Bishop Carrie's "Coutumier"--is consistent with stated policy. In practice, these plans were never truly put into operation. The quantitative development of schools which the plans' operation required did not take place until after the Second World War. By that time, the "Coutumier's" rigid hierarchy of educational structures and programs was still much less consistent with the Congolese political, social, and economic realities. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, these proposed structures and programs, although different in many respects from the French model, were not too well adapted to the Congolese situation. Although "free" Congolese children were reluctant to accept integration with mission-purchased slave children, Congolese society was much less stratified than the missionaries believed. The chiefs' sons, for instance, never enjoyed in the Congo a position similar to that of the chiefs' sons in Moslem North Africa. The persistent interest of both the missionaries and the French colonial administrators in Congolese chiefs' sons may thus have been a bad second-hand adaptation of an adapted solution. Furthermore, Bishop Carrie's plans for careful guidance of mission-educated Congolese to specific social and professional positions had very little chance of success: what children wanted above all was a chance to learn

"white man's ways"--to acquire the white man's magical powers. No matter what a Congolese child learned at the mission, he became a "lettré," a new type of person differentiated only from the non-educated, not from other "lettrés." Thus the missionaries soon realized that the pursuit of their secondary educational aim often tended to defeat their primary aim: numerous pupils hopefully trained for tasks connected in some way with mission work left the mission and escaped the influence of the missionaries; hence, the missionaries' heavy emphasis on religious instruction and cautious attitude toward rapid expansion of general and vocational education facilities.

Apart from this last observation, it is true that many factors contributed to the slow rate of progress of Catholic mission education (after twenty years, total enrollment did not exceed 2,000 pupils in regular attendance). The main factor was undoubtedly a lack of funds. Since government subsidies were mostly absorbed by the customs duties the missionaries had to pay on their imports, the missions were financially dependent on a small subsidy from Rome, voluntary contributions from European Catholics, and the profits of gardens and orchards operated by some mission stations. These sources of income determined to a large degree the direction of the missions' educative action. Funds from the first two sources tended to give priority to religious action; funds from the third source tended to tighten the missions' expenditure budget. The need for strict economy reduced quantitative educational development and influenced the types of education the missions could provide. Due to the lack of enthusiasm Congolese parents had for education and to the extreme irregularity of the "free" pupils' attendance, early Catholic missionaries relied heavily on "redeemed" slave boys and girls as a more stable source of pupils. If the slaves' purchase price was low, the cost of food, clothing, and shelter for those boys and girls was relatively high. Hence, each pupil had to contribute to the financial welfare of the missions by working in the mission fields and shops. It is then no surprise that Félicien Challaye considered that the Catholic missions were less interested in training pupils for a trade than in obtaining skilled manpower for the benefit of the missions.

In fact, the Catholic missions did train an undetermined number of Congolese who filled low-level posts in the Colony's Administration, trade, and building industry. Thus appears an interesting relationship between policy, practice, and results: providing general and vocational education was an avowed aim of the early Catholic missionaries. In practice, the missions' own self-preservation requirements oriented their educative effort, with little attention for the manpower needs of the Colony as such. Although the objective outcome was often disappointing for the missions, their pupils and the Colony reaped some benefits.

Therefore, the public school system should not replace the missions' school system, but serve as its model.

French Educational Policy and Practice during
the Incubation Period: 1905-1937

Stagnation best describes this long period if one is interested in the quantitative development of Congolese education. However, the same period is rich in policy statements issued by the three formal education agencies: the French Government, the Swedish Evangelical Mission, and the Roman Catholic missions.

One of the best proofs of the French Government's lack of interest in the development of the Congo is perhaps the fact that the Catholic Church was allowed to monopolize the field of education for more than twenty years. At the beginning of this century, as the Church-State controversy reached its maximum intensity in France, and as the concessionary companies' scandals attracted French public attention to the Congo, it was to be expected that the French Government could not continue to ignore its educational responsibilities in the Congo. Indeed, two official policy statements were issued at that time, one by Inspector General Foncin, and the other by the Minister for Colonies, Clémentel. Although these statements applied to the whole French Empire, they contained references to the Congo.

Inspector General Foncin, in pressing the French Government to action in the field of colonial education, may have been motivated primarily by the desire to provide the children of French colonists with the type of free public education to which they were entitled by law. This preoccupation undoubtedly played an important role in educational development in the French colonies: it prompted the establishment in the colonies of metropole-type schools from which indigenous populations could not be barred in view of France's non-discriminatory principles. The Congo, because of its small French population, did not "benefit" from this situation until the later 1940's. In any event, Foncin devoted a substantial part of his report to the problems of native education. Graphically, the school system he recommended would have produced a rather low pyramid with a very narrow apex and wide base: a very small élite trained in European-type schools for predetermined posts, a number of low level administrative auxiliaries and craftsmen, and, at the base, the masses, barely introduced to the French language and civilization.

Underlying Foncin's educational pyramid were the two familiar principles of French Government policy: to spread the use of the French language and to match educational opportunities to the skilled manpower needs of each colony. A top school administrator himself, Foncin pressed for the establishment of regular school administration in the colonies and called for metropolitan financial contributions to support it. Furthermore, the public school system should not replace the missions' school system, but serve as its model.

A wide range of opinion existed at that time in France and in the colonies regarding policy toward missionaries. The extreme anti-clericals favored extending to the colonies the anti-Church laws being adopted in France. The moderates, however, were inclined to accept reassurances--such as Félicien Challaye's--that Church action in the colonies did not present the same "dangers" as in France. In any event, France was simply not free to adopt religious discrimination policies in the Conventional Basin of the Congo. Bishop Augouard, for his part, was determined to appeal above France to the signatory powers of the Act of Berlin in an effort to defend his missions' rights in the Congo.

The best indication of the French Government's limited freedom of action with regard to mission operations in the Congo is the fact that the Swedish Evangelical Mission succeeded in gaining a foothold in the Congo in 1909. In spite of the potential threat to France's cultural and political influence that the Swedish missionaries represented, the Congolese Government could not prevent their entry nor refuse them land concessions.

Minister Clémentel's instructions to colonial governors endorsed Inspector General Foncin's proposals except on two important points. First, Clémentel introduced the concept of "association" as France's new native policy, but he made it clear that this policy could not yet apply to the Congo because the Congolese were not yet culturally prepared to play the role of France's "associate." From official sources, this time, adaptation was clearly linked to inferior status. Second, Clémentel made educational development entirely dependent on local revenues. For the Congo, in 1905, this meant practically no funds at all for educational purposes with little prospect for improvement. Indeed, many concessionary companies, the local administration's chief source of tax revenues, were in deep financial difficulties themselves and were threatened by official liquidation due to the pressure of French public opinion.

In 1911 the French Government came one step further into Congolese education: a formal decree, at last, created a public school system--on paper. The system incorporated most of the policy principles already reviewed: the transfer to Africa of the French school system in an "adapted" form, the teaching of the French language, and "middle" and vocational education tailored for the French-recognized needs of the Black Africans. However, the creation of a public school system in the Congo had an important indirect consequence: public financial support was withdrawn from mission schools. At this point reappears a parallel already drawn between French Government economic and educational development policies in the Congo. France had relinquished her economic development responsibilities to concessionary companies, but when the latter were reduced in number and power, the French Government failed to provide an adequate substitute for the companies' development

activities. In education, the French Government let the missionaries carry most of the burden for nearly thirty years with little more than token financial support. When government subsidies were withdrawn from the mission schools, an adequate public school organization was devised as an alternative, but the French Government failed to provide this organization with the financial means to operate.

The victorious end of the First World War and the creation of the League of Nations brought to France a fresh determination to carry out her "mission civilisatrice" in her neglected colonies. But as far as Congolese education was concerned, this new determination did not produce drastic changes. However, the previous withdrawal of government subsidies to mission schools was recognized as a mistake. The great potential usefulness of a prosperous mission school system under French Government control was at last appreciated. Government subsidies were once more granted to schools operated by French missionaries, but strict regulations prescribed the exclusive use of the French language for all non-religious instruction. Even "foreign," Protestant missions, if denied financial assistance, were at least recognized officially as formal education agencies. Finally, school inspection was organized to ensure conformance with regulations.

Aside from these developments no major policy changes were introduced until 1937. Even Minister for Colonies, Albert Sarraut, who, in the early 1920's exerted such powerful influence on French colonial policy, was content with restating established French educational policy and re-emphasizing that "... effort should be directed toward ensuring above all a full development of primary, technical and vocational education."²

If plans were ambitious enough, practice was very disappointing. The few classes opened by the local administration between 1905 and 1911 probably had an insignificant effect. The beginning of public school practice in the Congo occurred after 1911, that is, after publication of the "Decree Organizing Education in French Equatorial Africa." Public institutions rarely "just grow" in French ruled territory; the State must first establish their legal foundations. The 1911 decree did not create a public school system in the Congo but only made it legally possible for a system to be created. The will and the means to carry out stated policy were still to be found. If the means failed to materialize it is because the will was, in the final analysis, seriously lacking. The surrender of Congolese territory to Germany before the First World War is a sufficient proof of the French Government's lack of positive interest in the Congo. In practice, then, a discontinuation of government support of mission schools and failure to provide employment opportunities is a failure. For other reasons, educational facilities were even more limited than this policy would have allowed, although the policy may have offered handy excuses while

2. Quoted by George H. Kimble in Tropical Africa (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1960), Volume II, p. 110.

to develop public education made the 1910-1920 decade Congo education's "darkest hour."

Accomplishments during the period 1920-1937 were hardly greater than during the preceding decade. The phrase "la mise en sommeil de l'enseignement" was first applied to that period. It implies that education was deliberately relegated to a position of very low priority, as indeed it was: completion of the Congo-Océan Railroad monopolized the country's resources.

Government educative action in the Congo between the First and the Second World War may have been more important through private than through public efforts. The Government made unmistakable its intention to regulate private education, that is, to control the growth of mission schools, to set up their academic standards, and to orient their action in directions favorable to French interests. But how well were the regulations enforced? The 1911 decree foresaw the creation of a School Inspection Service which was set up only in 1928. Up to 1928, then, school inspection must have been reduced to a bare minimum for both public and private schools. There is no indication that school inspection improved markedly from that date until 1936. In fact, government control of private education was exercised at the two opposite ends: establishment and staffing of mission schools and sanction of certificates awarded to the mission schools' products. Government officials could not be certain of what happened in between to mission schools' pupils, particularly to those (the vast majority) who failed to reach the primary school certificate level. Nevertheless, private education was profoundly affected by government regulations. Protestant schools, for instance, were forced to develop in accordance with the French model followed by public and Catholic schools. One can only speculate as to what would have happened if Protestant schools had developed along widely different lines.

In summary, public school practice in the Congo between 1905 and 1937 deserves M. Davesne's sharp criticisms: inadequate buildings, absence of teaching aids, uneducated and untrained teachers, ineffective school inspection, and lack of specific curriculum and school management regulations. The quantitative results were a maximum of 4,000 pupils receiving formal education in all of French Equatorial Africa (1937), or between one and two per cent of the school-age population; not a single African doctor, veterinarian, midwife, agricultural officer, nor qualified craftsman was produced. Before World War II, formal education in the Congo was incapable of filling the very limited manpower needs of the country. This situation does not constitute a proof that the French policy of limiting educational facilities to probable employment opportunities is a failure. For other reasons, educational facilities were even more limited than this policy would have allowed, although the policy may have offered handy excuses while education was being neglected.

Evangelical Mission and German Lutheranism. These efforts having

The Catholic missions pursued a policy regarding educational aims, organization, structure, and programs that remained unchanged during this period. Their monopoly of Congolese education came to an end, though, forcing the Catholic missions to state their position in relation to public schools and to Protestant mission schools.

The Act of Berlin offered the Catholic Church strong guarantees for continued religious and "civilizing" action in the Congo Basin, and the Catholic missionaries were determined to take full advantage of those guarantees, even if this meant open opposition to French Government policies. In fact, the Catholic Church, being represented in the Congo by French missionaries, had every desire to cooperate to the fullest possible extent with the French Government in a concerted attack on the Congo's social and cultural problems. It is no surprise that the concrete proposals submitted by Father Rémy resembled so closely those proposed by Inspector General Foncin. Indeed, the "language schools"--which Father Rémy called "civilization centers"--if pursued by the Catholic missions with the moral and financial support of the Administration, would have virtually guaranteed to the Catholic missions a dominant position in the field of education. The missions, because of their relatively low cost of operation and because of the missionaries' willingness to work in extremely difficult "bush" conditions, would have quickly gained valuable footholds throughout the Congo. Likewise, in the area of technical and vocational education, Government support of the missions' action would have offered the quickest and most economical way to solve the problems of skilled manpower needs. For the missions, this would have meant being paid to do only what they had been doing all along in a haphazard and incidental manner.

It appears that if the French Government had had the interests of the Congolese population uppermost in mind, it would have taken full advantage of the Catholic missions' willingness to cooperate. But, in the final analysis, all lies in one's conception of "the interests of the Congolese population." The French Government believed that Catholic education was "miseducation."

When it came to counteracting the influence of Protestant missions, the French Government and the Catholic missions found further grounds for agreement. Official opposition to Protestant missions was not related to Protestantism itself, but to the fact that Protestantism in the Congo was represented by non-French missionaries, and feeble efforts were made to keep them out of the Congo. In fact, no strong action was taken by the French Government either to prevent the Swedish Protestants entry into the Congo or to curtail the latter's activities. This official attitude can no doubt be explained by the Protestant missions' sound tactical decision to use missionaries originating from a small neutral country and by those missionaries' careful avoidance of political involvement in the Congo. The Catholic missionaries repeatedly made efforts to show a direct link between the Swedish Evangelical Mission and German Lutheranism. These efforts having

generally failed, the Catholic missions chose another alternative: to spread their action horizontally and to gain footholds over the widest possible territory before the task was made more difficult by the presence of Protestant missionaries. This policy only re-emphasized the previously established priority attributed by the Catholic missions to the more purely religious aspects of their work at the expense of general and vocational education. The colonial administration's dropping of financial support, such as it was, of the Catholic mission schools added one more reason for keeping formal education's costs down to a minimum.

Catholic mission educational policies after World War I were closely similar to those actually adopted by the French Government, with an important exception: official regulations and inspection of mission schools in return for government subsidies. The Church naturally preferred subsidies without controls but could not realistically hope to obtain satisfaction on this point. Official school inspection has remained a necessary condition and a source of friction between the Church and the French authorities. As a matter of principle, the practice could hardly be challenged by the Church, but the Catholic missionaries had good reasons to be suspicious of the true motives of the French officials in charge of school inspection. Since the French Revolution, the French civil service as a whole had not been particularly favorable to the Church. During the period between the world wars, the Congo Government's irregular inspection of mission schools was carried out mostly by non-educators, who seemed more prone than educators might have been to let their political or personal convictions color their judgments of the mission schools. What professional educators did take charge of school inspection were products of the French Normal Schools, many of which were well-known centers of anti-clericalism. In any event, official inspection of mission schools remained sporadic and perfunctory until 1937.

Catholic mission educational policy, then, remained unchanged during the 1905-1937 period. Circumstances caused Catholic missionaries to reaffirm or to clarify their previous positions, particularly with regard to government agencies and to Protestant missions. In practice, the Catholic school system in the Congo somewhat deteriorated between 1905 and 1920 and then regained some vitality. But the phrase "mise en sommeil de l'enseignement" can apply to the Catholic missions almost as well as to the colonial administration.

Converting the Congolese to a Protestant brand of Christianity was, naturally, the primary aim of the Swedish Evangelical Mission. Education came second, together with health care, but for the Protestant the link between conversion and formal education was more functional and direct than for the Catholic missions: an illiterate Protestant is considered by Protestant leaders to be a contradiction in terms since Bible-reading is such an important Protestant principle. However, it does not matter what language a Protestant individual can

read or write as long as the Bible has been translated into that language. In the Congo, the Swedish missionaries thought it more practical to learn the vernacular themselves than for the Congolese to learn a European language. Since the early Protestant missionaries established on the left bank of the Congo River (on Belgian territory) had already translated the Bible into Ki-Kongo, this language, also spoken by some Kongo tribes on the French side of the Congo River, was used almost exclusively by the Swedish missionaries as long as the French authorities allowed them to do so, that is, until 1921.

From 1909 until 1921, the formal education offered by the Protestant missions in the Congo meant something different from either public or Catholic mission education. The French language and culture were absent from the curriculum; deliberate or incidental training of the Congolese as "auxiliaries" in colonial administration and trading was impossible; and Protestant action was at first limited to those Congolese tribes who spoke Ki-Kongo or some closely related dialect. The early Protestant schools, then, developed into a closed system dedicated to the literacy needs of the Protestant converts and to the missionary manpower needs of the Protestant missions themselves: catechists, pastors, teachers, carpenters, and masons. Of the Protestant mission schools' products, only the craftsmen could find a place outside the missions. This situation undoubtedly discouraged many young Congolese from seeking education and training in Protestant institutions. The experience of the Catholic missions which painstakingly trained many Congolese only to see them leave the missions for more lucrative employment was not repeated to the same degree in the case of the Protestant missions. Combined with the Protestant missionaries' insistence on quality--as opposed to the Catholic missionaries' insistence on quantity--the relative absence of non-religious motives for becoming Protestants goes far to explain the often-observed high religious standards of the Congolese Protestants.

The Swedish Evangelical Mission's sincerity of purpose in formal education was put to a most severe test by the 1920 decree regulating private education in the Congo. The Protestant missionaries had to rebuild their school system from its foundations, to learn the French language, to teach that language to their native "moniteurs," to adopt new textbooks, new methods, etc., or to abandon formal education. In fact, they had little choice in the matter: their continued operation as a somewhat disturbing element in the Congo could not have been long tolerated by the French authorities. Already in 1917, a decree stipulated that native "moniteurs" had to be French subjects, an obvious attempt to weaken the ties between the Kongo tribes on both sides of the Congo River. Protestant missionary action among these tribes, building on existing close ethnic relationships and disregarding political boundaries, was encouraging the development of a politically dangerous group of tribes using the same native language (being put into written form) and holding the same set of Christian beliefs. But this was not an intended result of Protestant missionary action since

the Swedish missionaries readily accepted the necessity for cooperating with the French authorities toward the goal of progressive assimilation of the Congolese through the transmission of the French language and culture. By 1926, the Protestant missions were ready to resume their formal educative action, this time in conformance with the French Government's policies.

French Policy and Practice in Congolese Education from 1937 to 1940

This period marks the beginning of the French Government's effective and direct involvement in Congolese formal education. Before 1937, in spite of brave policy statements and detailed educational schemes, the French Government chiefly relied on time, and on the missions' assistance, to perform the educative task in the Congo. But from 1937 on, two developments appear as unmistakable signs that the French authorities were at last ready to assume their responsibilities. These signs were: the "professionalization" of the Congolese public school system and increased budgetary allocations necessary to carry out the new plans.

Relieved of the burden which construction of the Congo-Océan Railroad had put on his recent predecessors, Governor General Raste could turn to education as one of his major tasks. Raste was in basic agreement with the general aims of education formulated during the past quarter of a century, but realized if these aims were to be pursued effectively, an adequate organization supplied with the necessary funds had to be set up. His first step was therefore to create a Department of Education, staffed with competent professional educators given the task of reorganizing education in French Equatorial Africa.

It was to be expected that this "professionalization" of the school system would bring about an intensification of the institutional transfer process from France to Equatorial Africa. Indeed the educational structures which emerged from the 1937 decree reorganizing education in French Equatorial Africa looked more like their French model than ever before: school administration patterns and practices, types of schools, divisions by grades, examination systems, etc., all familiar French educational structures, were actually transferred to Equatorial Africa. The widely held view that formal education in French-speaking African territories was and is a "carbon copy" of the French school system is strongly supported by superficial observation of educational structures. In reality, it can be demonstrated that the 1937 reorganization of education in Equatorial Africa constitutes the French Government's most determined effort to adapt French education to African conditions. To find support for this assertion, one must look beyond structures to the functions the structures were expected to perform.

The 1937 decree created in Brazzaville an "academic secondary school" which was an exact replica of the metropolitan "lycées." In

France, the function of this type of school was to lead the élite of French youth to higher education and to positions of leadership in French life. Now French colonial policy in Africa before World War II did not foresee the possibility of admitting Black Africans to high positions of leadership before many years, even generations, to come. What function was an academic secondary school supposed to perform in Brazzaville then? Simply, to fill the secondary school needs of the children of the French settlers and civil servants whose number was expected to increase rapidly following the improvement of communications in French Equatorial Africa. Black Africans, although not barred from admission to this school, were not expected to enroll. Strictly speaking, this was an "adaptation to local conditions." It should be noted that, as before, "adaptation" is closely associated with "inferior status."

The 1937 decree set up a Higher Primary Education structure: "Enseignement Primaire Supérieur." In France, for over one hundred years, this type of school could be found in small provincial towns. Its function was to provide further education to capable elementary school graduates who, for geographic, sociological, or economic reasons, did not have the desire or the opportunity to pursue their studies at the university level. This type of school practically closed the door to higher education, but otherwise constituted the most flexible post-elementary school structure in France. As it developed up to 1937, it performed the function of adding a complement of general education, providing vocational training for subordinate posts in the "tertiary" sector of the economy (that is, administration, commerce, and industry), and preparing candidates for primary teacher-training schools. In June, 1937, this type of school was integrated in the French secondary school system. It later gave birth to the present "Collèges Modernes." It appears, then, that the Higher Primary School established in Brazzaville, and later in each of the territorial capitals of French Equatorial Africa, was functionally adapted to local needs as perceived by the French colonial authorities.

"Technical" education was also organized after the French model. Two levels with different structures and functions were clearly distinguished. Specialized, trade school training was only partly placed under Department of Education responsibility. It was expected that other public and private agencies would make important contributions in this area. Likewise, agricultural education--at a specialized level--was the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture in accordance with French metropolitan practice. But a departure from the French model, at least in emphasis, was revealed in the particular care with which manual work and general agricultural education was made an integral part of Congolese education at all levels. As a part of the school curriculum, manual and agricultural education was supposed to benefit all students, no matter what their particular calling might be. In addition, it was expected to identify pupils with special aptitudes for trades or agriculture. The latter was given special emphasis through the institution of "Agricultural School Days." Finally,

African Handicraft Sections, set up to improve and preserve native handicraft techniques, represented a direct adaptive measure.

The 1937 professionalization of Equatorial African education was a result of the French Government's renewed commitment to supply adequate formal education. It was also an expression of confidence in the Government's ability to perform the task. As in 1911, this confidence induced the French Government and the French colonial administrators to relegate private education to a marginal position in the field of formal education. The 1937 decree barely mentioned private education's existence. A 1938 decree stated the Government's position with regard to missions. They were to be treated in strict conformance with the provisions of the Act of Berlin (1885) and the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919), that is, as religious organizations expected to concentrate on their evangelizing task. In other words, the 1938 decree aimed at "putting the Missions back in their place." This assertion is supported by the Government's decision to give no privileged treatment to the (French) Catholic missions in the Congo. Obviously, the professional educators, in the best tradition of French public education, could not tolerate the prominent role the missions had assumed in Congolese education.

In spite of greatly increased budgetary allocations (the education budget almost doubled in three years), tangible results were still meager on the eve of World War II. Of course, the new structures had barely had time to take root before World War II upheavals altered the situation. It would not be fair to evaluate the effects of the 1937 reorganization of education on such a short period of time. Besides, the educational structures transferred in adapted forms from France to the Congo in 1937 have remained basically unchanged up to this date.

The Catholic missions were not opposed in principle to the structural innovations introduced in Congolese education during the period immediately preceding the Second World War. The functions assigned to these structures also met with the Catholic missions' approval, although their long experience caused them to adopt a frankly skeptical attitude. Official policy and practice toward the missions, however, represented a conception of the proper role of the missions which the Catholic missionaries, in particular, could not accept: they still saw themselves as Frenchmen dedicated to the service of God and Fatherland. On patriotic grounds, they believed that they were entitled to preferential treatment in a French-administered African territory; on religious grounds, after over fifty years of missionary action in the Congo, they were ready to base their claims on the argument traditionally used by the Catholic in France: the Catholic parents' right to have their children attend Catholic schools. Thus, the patriotic and the religious reinforced one another in the eyes of the Catholic missionaries in justifying their all-out opposition to the French Government's new position in the Congo. One can only speculate as to what the probable course of events would have been if the War had not brought a complete change in official policy regarding the role of the missions in Congolese education.

According to the Catholic missionaries it would seem that the new official attitude in favor of the Protestant missions was adopted chiefly as a means of annoying the Catholic missions. In fact, the new professional educators were genuinely impressed by the standards of quality which the Protestant missions had managed to maintain. At the level of French colonial policy, the recognition at last granted to the Swedish missionaries was a testimony to their strict adherence to the rules of political neutrality and to the success of their efforts to conform to official regulations regarding the use and the teaching of the French language.

French Policy and Practice in Congolese Education since World War II

Numerous policy statements were issued during this period and they were followed, at last, by practical results. As indicated in the previous chapter, educational developments in the Congo from World War II until 1958 were all consequences of two major policy decisions taken by the French Government: the transfer to the Congo of democratic political institutions and the supply of development funds to carry out the new policies. This meant that positions of leadership in the political, social, and economic life of the Congo would be created in increasing numbers, and that the Congolese themselves would have access to many of those positions. The Congolese school system in operation in 1940 was obviously not geared to the performance of functions demanded by the new policy. The following sections will review briefly how education was used instrumentally in pursuit of new native policy goals.

French official policy, as formulated by Félix Eboué and his successors and as incorporated in the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic, did not aim at preparing the Africans for self-government, much less for international sovereignty. On the other hand, the policy followed until 1940 was considered outdated and even contrary to the best interests of both the Metropole and the colonial populations. A solution was sought which would allow the Africans to retain some pride in their traditional institutions and at the same time to accept a degree of acculturation which would enable them to play a positive role in a modern version of the French Empire. If these two aims were theoretically compatible, the adopted solutions were not very successful. In order to give back to the non-acculturated Congolese a sense of pride for their own culture, a form of indirect rule was devised. Traditional chiefs were to be identified and given administrative powers. They were to exercise these powers under the supervision and guidance of French administrators. The scheme was based on a misunderstanding of the role of the chief in traditional Congolese society. Their two main functions, judge and teacher, had already been assumed by Frenchmen and acculturated Congolese. The new functions the Administration wanted the chiefs to perform were essentially modern ones, connected with the gradual evolution of the Congolese society toward European patterns.

It was assumed that the traditional chiefs would retain their authority no matter what functions they performed. In fact, the more the Administration tried to increase the chiefs' prestige and powers, the less effective authority they had over their people. Indeed, for those functions which the Administration wanted performed French colonial servants or acculturated Congolese were better suited. The latter type of Congolese received much attention after the War. The Administration made it plain that these were the models to be imitated by granting them the status of "notables évolués." They were those who had "evolved from a primitive state" and had adopted, to various degrees, the values and ways of living of the Europeans.

The school system was frankly aimed at producing "évolués," Black Africans who could assist the Europeans in the task of "civilizing" their countrymen. But sharp limits were set to the level at which the "évolués" were to play their role: important decision-making positions were still to be held by Frenchmen. Therefore, during the first ten years following the end of the Second World War, the Congolese skilled manpower requirements--as set by the French Government--did not differ in nature, but only in quantity, from those of the pre-war period. Consequently, the pre-war educational structures and functions were retained after the War. This explains why Governor General Eboué and his successors only continued and intensified the educative effort set in motion during the late 1930's. However, post-war educational policy differed in one important respect: the cooperation of the missions was actively sought, welcomed, and supported by the local administration. Even the Protestant missions began to receive government subsidies in 1943.

Governor General Eboué was determined to end the stagnation which had characterized school development in Equatorial Africa. Under the difficult wartime conditions, little could be done to expand the school system. The uncertainties of the immediate post-war period had the same effect. Once more, fine statements of intent were about to suffer the same fate as previous ones: to be followed by more statements and few practical results. But now, for reasons not especially connected with Equatorial Africa, one of the most significant events of the post-war period occurred. At last, relatively massive investment funds became available for the social and economic transformation of dependent countries.

Up to this point in the development of the Congolese school system, it is obvious that the essential ingredient missing from all development schemes was money. It was finally recognized that if the numerous vicious circles of underdevelopment were to be transformed into upward spiralling movements, the economic and social infrastructures had to be created with the help of outside funds. In the late 1940's, the Congo started receiving such funds through the "Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social" (FIDES), and the rapid growth of the Congolese school system was the result.

In the field of education, FIDES-financed plans aimed at universal education in the French Union territories within a ten-year period. Like most other public development funds, FIDES was intended to supply only part of the required capital. Local sources were expected to pay for the rest as well as for the operating costs of completed projects. Local revenues were not large enough to match FIDES funds in attempting to insure "... equal access for children and adults to instruction, vocational training and culture." Furthermore, since more than three-fifths of FIDES funds were to be allocated to the country's economic infrastructure, i.e., not likely to contribute directly and early to increasing public revenues, and almost one-fourth was going to public health and education which resulted in increasing the public financial burden, FIDES educational targets were totally unrealistic. But this scheme should be judged by its accomplishments, not only by its optimistic objectives. In this respect, FIDES direct and indirect effects on school expenditure and expansion are primarily responsible for the rapid post-war growth of the Congolese school system. More important, perhaps, FIDES funds were the tangible proof that the French Government was, at last, determined to take the practical steps required to end the long period of educational stagnation.

The French Government's efforts to "normalize" the Congolese school system (1955) did not stem from a desire to change policy, but rather from the realization that the educational structures which had developed--for lack of adequate control--were not performing the functions policy had assigned to them. It was believed that the bulk of the primary school population had a school career too short to enable education to reach its two main assigned purposes: to have lasting acculturative effects and to supply candidates for further studies in sufficient numbers. In other words, the actual school structures were found non-functional. The adequacy of the planned structures was not questioned in the least; it was assumed that a "normal" (that is, European-like) grade distribution and more effective teaching would ensure proper transmission and reception of the educative message. The results, even at the structural level at which the reforms were applied, were not too encouraging. Arresting expansion at the bottom of the school pyramid during an eight-year period was contrary to the French-stated aim of universal education and contrary to the expectations of the Congolese people and their emerging leaders. The attempt also ignored the fierce competition which had developed between the three main groups providing formal education in the Congo: the public school authorities and the Catholic and the Protestant missions. Nevertheless, the reforms managed to attain some degree of "normalization." Four or five years after the plan was put into effect, the percentage of Equatorial African pupils enrolled in the two top primary grades had gone from eight up to eleven per cent of the total primary school enrollment. If, as a result of the Administration's drive to "normalize" grade distribution, fewer pupils dropped out of school voluntarily, thousands of others were forced out of school ("déscolarisés") before completing the primary cycles of studies. The problems created by these pupils sent out

because they were considered too old or had repeated too often served to highlight the main defect of the Congolese school system as it was functioning during the last years of French rule. The system is geared primarily to the production of certificate holders. The individual who is exposed to the system for a number of years but who fails to obtain a certificate is, to a certain degree, alienated from the socio-cultural group in which he was born, but given only a marginal position (at best) in the modern group into which he thought he was being invited. No evaluation of Congolese formal education can ignore the fate of these marginal products for the sake of the few "successful" ones.

The French Government's previous efforts to adapt Congolese school programs to local conditions had led to the creation of local examinations and certificates, the so-called "native certificates." Although Congolese school programs did not differ greatly from the metropolitan programs, French school children in temporary residence in the Congo had to follow metropolitan programs if they wanted to return to the metropolitan school system later. Hence the establishment of special schools following metropolitan programs in the main urban centers, that is, where French children were concentrated. At the secondary level, the problem did not exist, since Congolese secondary schools followed metropolitan programs and had the majority of their enrollment made up of French children. The existence of a double school system in the Congo did not necessarily imply that one system was inferior to the other, but the Congolese, especially the educated ones, were bound to feel that the "native" system was definitely inferior. The metropolitan system led to academic secondary, to higher education in France, and to decision-making positions; the "native" system had a terminal character and prepared subordinate cadres. In spite of the French officials' insistence that both systems were of equal quality, "native certificates" were not accepted by metropolitan institutions of higher learning. The emerging Congolese leaders needed no stronger evidence that adaptation meant inferiority. As these leaders gained increasing political powers during the last years of the colonial regime, it is not surprising that they pressed harder than ever for a so-called "harmonization" of Congolese and metropolitan school programs.

On the other hand, the French Government's determination to adapt the school system to Congolese conditions gradually weakened. In the first place, no law prevented Congolese children from attending metropolitan type schools in existence. As more Congolese students qualified for entrance in these schools, it became increasingly difficult to deny them admission. The rapid political developments which followed the "Loi-Cadre" made French officials realize that many Congolese would soon be making decisions at a higher level than before, even if the possibility that the Congo would soon gain international sovereignty still seemed remote. These new conditions imposed new functions on the Congolese school system, functions which required a school system geared to higher education opportunities. Since France was the logical place for such opportunities, only two alternatives were open to

educational planners: adapt the metropolitan higher education system in order to allow admission of "native certificate" holders or move toward the completion of the transfer of the metropolitan school system to the Congo. The latter solution seemed the easier one, and it was ardently desired by Congolese leaders and students.

However, the French Government's persistent desire to adapt to local conditions was finally manifested by the decision to create in Brazzaville a "Center for Higher Studies," which, unlike metropolitan universities, could be designed to perform locally required functions. This was done with a large measure of success by setting up a new type of institution offering both traditional French higher education and a "social promotion" section which provided higher education opportunities to "native certificate" holders.

The post-war period saw no drastic change in the educational policies of the missions established in the Congo. The missions welcomed the French Government's decision to speed up its educational effort and to recognize and encourage the missions' contributions to the educative task. The Catholic and the Protestant missions were quick to take full advantage of the new official attitude demonstrated by significant, if small, government financial support of private education. For the Swedish Evangelical Mission, this was a departure from a previous attitude of careful avoidance of official entanglements. While still holding the view that formal education was the primary responsibility of the state, the Swedish Mission authorities realized that militant French public educators dedicated to the idea of "neutral" education and equally militant Catholic priests pursuing an anti-Protestant policy would soon make strictly private Protestant efforts seem insignificant now that more abundant funds were becoming available. The Swedish Evangelical Mission therefore claimed and obtained its fair share of school support funds. But if an intensified educational effort automatically resulted in somewhat reduced standards of quality, such standards remained one of the primary preoccupations of the Protestant educators. Their schools in the Congo were not singled out for attack by the official inspection mission at the time of the Administration's drive to "normalize" education in the Congo. Perhaps the Protestant schools, numerically small as they were, were not considered as a serious threat to public education by the official inspectors. But even if this was the case, their being officially ignored by the inspection mission was a sort of tribute to the Swedish Evangelists who were operating in a delicate situation, that is, in a predominantly Catholic and French-ruled territory.

It is very difficult to evaluate the role of the Catholic missions in the post-war expansion of education in the Congo. It can be asserted that much larger government allocations of funds and personnel in the immediate post-war period would have had little effect if the missions (and primarily the Catholic missions) had not previously built up the "absorption capacity" of the Congo in the field of education. In terms

of religious conversion as well as in terms of training of catechists and Congolese clergy, the results of Catholic missionary action have been rather disappointing, especially if "normal" standards of quality are used. Nevertheless, most Congolese who were affected by missionary action became more receptive to modern ideas, values, and ways of life. More immediately important, thousands of mission-educated Congolese were able to play a direct intermediary role in the rapid modernization of the Congo. Thus it can be asserted that Catholic missionary and educative action in the Congo constitutes a major link in the cumulative chain of factors which have caused this poorest of the four French Equatorial territories to seize and retain a leading position in the socio-cultural evolution of middle Africa. Particularly, the Church played a vital role in providing academic training, through seminaries, for many of the Congo's political leaders at a time when public schools did not offer such training to Congolese students. From the Catholic missions' standpoint, the political orientation of mission-educated clerics and seminarians was perhaps an unexpected but probably an undesired outcome of missionary action. Nevertheless, it served the political aspirations of the emerging Congolese nation.

In general, it can be stated that the Catholic missions, as well as the Protestant missions, have been responsive to the rapid post-war changes in the political, social, and economic situation of the Congo. The missions were quick to take full advantage of increased government support of private education, and in order to qualify for such support their educational policy was made to coincide in a large measure with the policy adopted by the Government. To be sure, the mission schools' operation up to 1953 was often at variance with the official regulations. For this situation, the Administration's neglect of its supervisory role is very much to blame. Left largely to their own devices, the missions took advantage of their relative freedom to adapt often outdated official regulations to the requirements of the task at hand. Particularly as far as the Catholic missions were concerned, such adaptations--or breaches of the official regulations--were perhaps unavoidable consequences of their consistently followed policy of spreading their educative effort in order to reach the largest possible number of Congolese children. Thus government subsidies helped launch the spectacular horizontal expansion of the Catholic school system, albeit perhaps indirectly, by enabling the Catholic missions to allocate a larger proportion of their private funds to the conversion of "catechism schools" into primary schools. Nonetheless this expansion displeased the anti-missionary elements in the French administrative and educational circles.

It is very difficult to evaluate the long-range consequences of the Catholic authorities' choice of this expansionist option. The choice is probably functional, if one remembers that the Church's primary objective was to convert the Congolese masses to the Catholic religion. Two or three years of intensive religious instruction was considered sufficient to turn Congolese children into full-fledged

Catholic converts, since continued missionary action could keep strengthening their convictions through church instead of school attendance. If, from the point of view of religious action, the validity of this approach remains debatable, psycho-pedagogical criteria suggest that its educational value is still more doubtful. Theoretically, at least, it should be possible to communicate a given set of ideas and skills to young children in a specially designed two- or three-year cycle of studies and to accomplish this with a reasonable degree of understanding and retention. But primary education in the Congo was not designed to accomplish such a task: the primary cycle was of six years' duration and although a very small minority of the pupils completed the cycle, all were taught as if they were going to complete it. To the extent that the primary cycles of studies constituted the minimum basic information, skills, and attitudinal changes which the Congolese children required, it is obvious that the effects of private primary education were very superficial and short-lasting. Actually, much depended on the environment which absorbed the children after their short school careers. As the French realized, these children were more likely to be re-assimilated by their social environment than to be capable of constituting progressive elements in their environment.

In all fairness to the Catholic missions in the Congo, it must be recalled that the shortcoming of their schools also characterized the Protestant and the public schools. Since the Church accomplished whatever results were accomplished at a much lower cost to the French and Congolese treasuries, considerable credit is deserved.

Finally, one must remark that the Catholic Church in the Congo has demonstrated a willingness to harmonize its educative action with that of the Administration. While defending their rights and their policies, the Church authorities have been generally responsive to the demands of the changing political, social, and economic realities of the Congo, even if this attitude was partly prompted by the desire to retain the benefits of Government subsidies. It is the Church's privilege to serve the national interest through education, even when the national interest is defined in terms not perfectly agreeable to the Church. These conditions allowed the Church to retain her influential position in the Congo both before and after independence.

separated autonomy and independence, but the Congo's relations with France and the rest of the world were not affected by these events. There was a large degree of agreement among Congolese leaders regarding the roads the new nation should travel during the years ahead; the disputes centered around the man or group of men who were to guide the nation.

1. *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, "Communauté--Accord de Coopération Culturelle," Special issue No. 60-2775 (November, 1960), p. 30.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM

Considering that French is the official language of the Republic of Congo, and that an education of French character has become the instrument of the cultural, political, economic, and social development of the Congolese people . . .

Conscious of the special ties which unite the two nations [France and the Congo] in the Community and in the moral and spiritual family of the French-speaking peoples . . .¹

This introduction to the Cultural Cooperation Agreement, signed on the day the Republic of Congo won its independence from France (August 15, 1960), is not mere official rhetoric. Rather it is the expression of a reality fashioned by three-quarters of a century of a colonial relationship which ended in peace, harmony, and cooperation. One might say that such close cooperation was made absolutely necessary by the failure of the colonial regime to bring the Congo up to a stage of development at which it could enjoy more self-sufficiency. In fact, the Congo had a real choice of alternatives at the time of General de Gaulle's September, 1958, referendum as the decision of the Republic of Guinea has demonstrated. If the Congolese people, directly and through their elected representatives, chose to remain in the French family of nations, it is because they saw in continued cooperation with France their best chance of rapid development in general directions already followed since the end of World War II.

Continuity, then, characterizes in the Congo the transition from colonial territory to sovereign Republic. Political power changed hands but the institutions, with minor adaptations, remained. Institutional policies also showed a large degree of continuity. This is not surprising since the Congolese leaders who had helped formulate these policies over the last decade were, by and large, the same as those who struggled among themselves for control of the French inheritance. A few family quarrels erupted during the two years which separated autonomy and independence, but the Congo's relations with France and the rest of the world were not affected by these events. There was a large degree of agreement among Congolese leaders regarding the roads the new nation should travel during the years ahead; the disputes centered around the man or group of men who were to guide the nation.

1. Journal Officiel de la République Française, "Communauté--Accord de Coopération Culturelle," Special issue No. 60-277S (November, 1960), p. 50.

Continuity in Educational Aims and Policy

The emerging Congolese leaders did not feel the need to change the aims of education in the Congo. Education was itself one of the inherited institutions. Its adoption was a natural consequence of the adoption of the other economic, social, and political institutions; its further development along previously established principles was also considered as a necessary condition for the nation's progress within the framework of these same institutions. A sense of urgency regarding educational problems was felt only in the need to provide educational facilities to more people, at all levels. This was an intensification, not a redirection, of educative action.

This general satisfaction with the school system--except in its quantitative aspects--allowed the Congolese leadership to concentrate on economic, political and administrative problems while the schools continued to function as before. The organic law of January, 1937, since then modified in details, continued to form the legal foundation of the school system. In other words, the existing instrument with its structures, content, and functions was borrowed virtually intact and assigned a double mission: gradual provision of formal education to the whole school-age population of the Congo and the training of administrative and technical cadres in sufficient number to fill the needs of the country.

Particular objectives were assigned to each level and type of education. These were stated by the education authorities in a report to the Congolese Planning Commission at the beginning of 1960.²

Extension of primary education to the whole school-age population was to be accomplished within two or three decades. The general aims of primary education were not restated, the previously accepted ones remaining unquestioned.

Secondary education was assigned the task of preparing the middle and higher level manpower needed to Africanize the country's cadres, that is, to replace expatriates, to take care of attrition in the ranks of existing African cadres, and to meet the additional needs resulting from the demographic, social, and economic development of the Congo. Thus it was estimated that about 100 "bacheliers" ("baccalauréat" holders) and 300 to 350 "brevetés" ("brevet élémentaire" or "brevet d'études du premier cycle" holders) would be needed each year for the next few years. It must be noted, however, that secondary education as such was not expected to provide specialized training, but only to lay the foundations for middle or higher level administrative and technical careers.

September 28, 1961 Session. Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle.

2. Unsigned typewritten report found in the Archives of the Ministry of National Education, Brazzaville.

pp. 1-3.

Technical education ("enseignement technique"), in general admitting students after primary education or after parts or all of a secondary course of studies, was expected to train directly:

1) The technical and commercial cadres in technical "collèges," up to the technical baccalaureate level;

2) The skilled tradesmen ("ouvriers qualifiés") in vocational sections, usually attached to other types of schools;

3) Family aids and housewives in home economics centers.

In addition, the development of a type of basic vocational education immediately following primary education was to be encouraged in order to serve the majority of primary school leavers who did not go on to any of the formal types of post-primary institutions. This training was to concentrate on trades, woodworking, masonry, etc., in urban and in large village centers and on modern agricultural techniques in rural areas. This education is dispensed in public and in private establishments.

Post-secondary education, planned during the last months of the colonial regime, was introduced in the Congo by the creation (December 3, 1959) of the Brazzaville Center of Higher Administrative and Technical Studies ("Centre d'Etudes Administratives et Techniques Supérieures"). Placed under the responsibility of a French cabinet minister, the Center was a French institution established in Brazzaville for the benefit of all four republics of the ex-French Equatorial Africa. Its aim was to provide a supplement of general education and more advanced technical knowledge to young Africans who were about to be given positions previously filled by middle and higher level French personnel. It was also to act as a preparatory school for metropolitan institutions of higher learning.

It must be noted in connection with this educational plan that the formulation of its aims, the determination of the required structures and methods as well as its formal presentation, were all the work of French technical assistants, former responsible officials turned advisors. Their plans, by and large, met with the approval of the Congolese elected and appointed officials who held the powers of final decision. This point is demonstrated by the records of the National Assembly debate which followed the submission by the executive branch of the Government of a proposed organic law reorganizing education in the Republic of Congo.³ The full text of the law is translated below:⁴

3. Journal des Débats de l'Assemblée Nationale du Congo, Report of the September 28, 1961 Session. Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle.

4. Recueil des Lois, Session Extraordinaire, September 20-28, 1961. Mimeographed brochure issued by the National Assembly, Brazzaville, pp. 1-5.

LAW 44/61

TITLE I

General Provisions

- ARTICLE 1** Any child living in the Territory of the Republic of Congo is entitled, without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, belief, opinion, or wealth, to an education which ensures the full development of his intellectual, artistic, moral and physical aptitudes, as well as which offers civic and occupational training.
- ARTICLE 2** Providing education is a duty of the Nation. This education must provide each child with training adapted to life and to modern social obligations, and contribute to raising the general level of culture.
- ARTICLE 3** This education is dispensed in public and in private establishments.
- ARTICLE 4** School attendance is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 16.
- ARTICLE 5** Exceptionally, education may be given in the family under conditions which will be stipulated by a decree.
- ARTICLE 6** Education is free. During the period of compulsory schooling, school supplies are also provided free of charge.
- ARTICLE 7** Formal school is complemented by extra and post-curricular activities.

TITLE II

Higher Council on Education and School Commissions

- ARTICLE 7** In addition to the Ministry of National Education, a Higher Council on Education is instituted, made up in equal number of:
- members of the National Assembly,
 - representatives of the Ministry of National Education,
 - representatives of Public Education,
 - representatives of Private Education,
 - representatives of parents' associations.

This Council is presided over by the Minister of Education or his deputy.

- ARTICLE 8** The Higher Council on Education must be consulted in matters of programs, time schedules, and regulation of school examinations.

Within the limits of budgetary resources, it decides on: the opening of primary and complementary levels (post-primary, secondary, first cycle) levels in accordance with recognized needs.

It is also consulted about the opening of other school establishments, particularly secondary and technical schools.

ARTICLE 9

In every "prefecture" is instituted a school Commission made up in the manner described in Article 7. This Commission is presided over by the "Préfet."

Any proposal for the opening of a primary or a complementary school is submitted, first, to the decision of the Higher Council on Education, then, to the advice of the School Commission.

ARTICLE 10

TITLE III
Categories of Private Education Establishments

ARTICLE 10

There are three categories of private schools: assimilated establishments, subsidized establishments, free establishments.

Whenever it decides to open a private school, the Higher Council classifies it in one of the above categories.

ARTICLE 11

Classified in the first category are the private primary and complementary education establishments in existence at the date the present law is enacted.

The other types of private establishments existing at the date the present law is enacted shall be classified by the Higher Council within three months of its constitution.

ARTICLE 12

The assimilated establishments are obligated to provide instruction in exact conformance with that of public establishments of the same nature, and according to identical schedules. They are to submit to the pedagogical, sanitary, financial, and administrative control and to the inspection of the Ministry of National Education under the same conditions as similar public establishments.

The teaching staff of the above-mentioned establishments shall be made up exclusively of teachers having the status of "fonctionnaires" or contractuels³ of the State. These

3. A person under contract, that is, not a member of the civil service.

teachers are appointed following the proposal of the person in charge of education in the society under consideration. As much as possible, these teachers are selected among those who have received their professional training in a private institution.

ARTICLE 16 The Commission has at its disposal an agency for information and for educational research; it also has social and Promotion and disciplinary rules concerning this staff are subordinated to the same general conditions as those concerning staff of the same nature in public education. However, they have an equalizing board, a promotion commission, and a disciplinary council of their own.

ARTICLE 17 Decrees of the Council of Ministers shall determine the Similarly, the public education staff shall have its own commission.

ARTICLE 18 Breaches of the provisions of the present law, and of the Assimilated establishments receive allowances corresponding to the cost of school supplies. establishments, the cancellation of the subsidy contract without compensation, or the closing

ARTICLE 13 Private education establishments of the second category are granted a contract assuring them of an annual State Subsidy in return for adherence to study plans and programs specified in the contract. Education with the Higher Council on

ARTICLE 14 Establishments of the third category may not receive any subsidies from the State, from local collectivities, or let, from public or semi-public bodies. the State.

They are nevertheless subject to the control of the State. This control is concerned with the hygienic arrangement of premises and with the provision of education in accordance with morality, the law, and the constitution.

TITLE IV (Abbé Fulbert Youlou)

Neutrality of Education

While the legislative project was being prepared, its provisions **ARTICLE 15** Instruction in public and private establishments of the first and second categories is respectful of all philosophical and religious doctrines. are available but the Secretary to the Committee reported to the Assembly on the four amendments proposed by Com.

These establishments must accept all pupils, irrespective of origin, race or belief.

Our Assemblyman proposed that the compulsory school attendance period be 4, first part In public or assimilated establishments, religious instruction can only be given outside regular school hours. many

TITLE V

Miscellaneous Provisions

ARTICLE 16 Public education has at its disposal an agency for information and for educational research; it also has social and health services.

Assimilated establishments can, at their request, avail themselves of these services free of charge.

ARTICLE 17 Decrees of the Council of Ministers shall determine the details of application of the present law.

ARTICLE 18 Breaches of the provisions of the present law, and of the decrees issued in application of the law, may be sanctioned by lowering the status of establishments, the cancellation of the subsidy contract without compensation, or the closing down of the establishment.

These sanctions are applied by decree of the Council of Ministers, after consultation with the Higher Council on Education.

ARTICLE 19 The present law, which shall come into effect on October 1st, 1961, shall be applied as a Law of the State.

Brassaville, September 28th, 1961

The President of the Republic
Head of the Government

(Signed) Abbé Fulbert Youlou

While the legislative proposal was being prepared, its provisions were submitted to parents and teachers (public and private) in Brassaville. Then, a National Assembly Committee met to study the proposal in detail. No records of these sessions are available but the Secretary to the Committee reported to the Assembly on the four amendments proposed by Committee members.⁶

One Assemblyman proposed that the compulsory school attendance period be set between the ages of 6 and 18 instead of 6 and 16 (Article 4, first paragraph). The concern here stemmed from the fact that many

6. Journal des Débats, op. cit., p. 2.

parents had complained that their children had been dismissed from school because of their age, but before they had received enough education to find adequate employment. But the Government would not "... yield to parents' blackmail," the Secretary reported. Places in schools were better used by young, hardworking pupils than by older repeaters. The proposal was rejected. The same Assemblyman asked that the term "exceptionally" be stricken from paragraph two of the same Article, but he could not explain clearly why he wanted it. This was also rejected.

A third proposal concerned Article 12. Identical textbooks should be used in all schools, some members thought. The Committee, again, decided that school programs alone ought to be uniform; teachers should be free to find their teaching material in any textbook adapted to the program and to his pupils.

Finally, Article 15 originally stated that "... [instruction] is neutral." This was modified to read "... is respectful of all philosophical and religious doctrines."

The Committee, therefore, changed very little of the original text. The Secretary's report was adopted unanimously, minus one abstention, by the Assembly. Then, the Secretary moved that the text of law be approved as a whole, without a vote on each Article. After some discussion, the move was also adopted, with only two abstentions.

Most of the interventions, in the Committee as well as in the Assembly, were concerned with a point not mentioned in the text under consideration. An Assemblyman proposed that the secondary school entrance examination be eliminated in order to allow pupils to be admitted on the basis of the grade average obtained during the last primary school year.⁷ Some Assemblymen positively approved of the idea, and none argued against it. The Minister of Education himself declared in favor of eliminating the secondary school entrance examination "... like in France ..." but pointed out that his department was still trying to find place for over 200 pupils who had passed the last entrance examination. Under the circumstances, the Government felt that competitive examinations had better be maintained, but promised to reconsider the decision as soon as expanded secondary school facilities made a new procedure feasible.

7. In November, 1956, France had adopted a similar admission procedure for public school pupils. At the time, the French Director of Education in the Congo considered that the introduction of such a reform in the Congo was premature and not adapted to local conditions. (See Circular No. 345, dated March 7, 1957, a mimeographed document found in the Archives of the Ministry of National Education, Brazzaville.)

One last remark was made regarding private education's personnel policies. An Assemblyman reported that in some private schools, teachers with the rank of "instituteurs" were sometimes forced to work under simple "moniteurs." He also reported that some private school teachers' promotions were affected by the frequency of their attendance to religious ceremonies. These remarks were made for the record and did not give rise to any discussion. However, they reveal areas of serious friction between the mission authorities and their Congolese school staff: the missions' disciplinary control and its consequences on the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of Congolese teachers in their employ. They also indicate the strength of the private school teachers' political influence and their success in making their voices heard in Government circles.

Title III of the September 28 Law "assimilating" private education finally settled the old problem of private school teachers' status and salary. Indeed, these teachers were integrated in the civil service ("Fonction Publique") and received full pay from the State, in accordance with salary scales applied to public school teachers. Having won this most important battle, private school teachers turned to their next objective, that is, to gain the largest possible measure of freedom from Church control. Now, Article 12, paragraphs 3 and 4, provided for separate private and public disciplinary councils. This became a controversial issue to be resolved a few months later by a decree of application of the Law--in close agreement with the teachers' point of view.⁸ The relevant provisions of this decree are summarized below.

Article 5 of the decree of application created a Commission to deal with the personnel problems of "assimilated" schools. It was to serve as a promotion commission and as a disciplinary council. It was made up of the Minister of National Education (chairman), five elected representatives of the staff category under consideration, the representative of the Civil Service Minister, the Director of Primary Education, the Chief of the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Education, and two representatives of private education (presumably one Catholic and one Protestant).

Article 6 stipulated that when the Commission acted as a disciplinary council, it could only recommend sanctions to be decided upon by the Head of Government who held the disciplinary powers.

As of the end of June, 1962, this decree was one of only three issued in application of the September 28, 1961, Law. When the Law was adopted by the National Assembly, it was highly praised by Congolese officials as representing the best compromise between a public takeover

8. Decree No. 62-143 of May 16, 1962. (Mimeographed document available at the Ministry of National Education, Brassaville.)

of private education and complete separation of the private and the public school systems. It was said to provide private education with the financial and moral support it needed to develop according to its ". . . own personality," within the framework of Congolese institution and in the interests of the Nation. As such, the solution was received with good will, if not with enthusiasm, by mission authorities. But the full implications of the Law will clearly appear only as other decrees of application are issued to define it in operational terms. On such occasions, certain provisions may be reinforced, or practically nullified, as in the case of Article 12.

Further evidence that Congolese educational policy since independence shows a high degree of continuity with pre-independence policy is offered in a report by the Minister of Education:⁹

As far as our future plans are concerned, guided by a policy of cultural emancipation, they are as numerous as ever.

We intend to continue developing all categories of education without exception, but our future effort will bear particularly on secondary and technical education.

The Minister did not explain his understanding of the phrase "cultural emancipation," but the term "cultural" is taken in the strict, "European," sense. Hence, the heavy emphasis on the "vertical development" of the educational system, that is, expansion of secondary and higher education. The immediate consequence of this policy was the Government's decision to open at least one "Cours Complémentaire," or "Collège d'Enseignement Général" (C.E.G.) in each sub-prefecture. Launched in October, 1959, by the opening of five "collèges" with 400 students in eleven classes, this project was pursued vigorously and became the most visible form of educational development since independence. In 1961-62, 27 such "collèges" were in operation, with 2,419 students in 71 classes. Obviously, this particular school structure offered a solution to many pressing problems connected with the rapid increase of primary school graduates. Now that the initial steps are taken in the creation of these "collèges," the Government's emphasis is expected to bear on the expansion of the "lycée-type" secondary school. Indeed, plans call for the expansion of the two existing "Lycées" and for the creation of four more, two in secondary urban centers and two for girls only in Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire. In the near future, secondary schools should absorb ". . . about eight per cent of the primary school population, which constitutes a normal rate."

9. Congo: Bulletin Périodique édité par la Ministère de l'Information, Janvier-Février, 1962, No. 11, "Communication de M. Grandzion, Ministre de l'Education Nationale sur la situation de l'Enseignement au 1er janvier, 1962." (Mimeographed. Unpaged.)

In comparison, technical education was developing very slowly, but expansion was foreseen, particularly in connection with industrial development projects in the Kouilou area.

Although higher education is still outside the competence of the Congolese Ministry of Education it preoccupies Congolese leaders and directly involves the Minister of Education. In 1961-62, 175 Congolese students were attending French institutions of higher learning. The Congo's expanding secondary schools and the country's need for professional level cadres would soon raise this number considerably. On the other hand, the Congo, for years to come, cannot supply the students nor the funds to keep a full-fledged university in operation. The French-proposed solution, i.e., higher education facilities serving all four equatorial African republics, was readily accepted by the Congo, particularly since Brazzaville was their most logical location.

Higher education planners were faced with the following problems when the four equatorial republics were born:

1) the need to Africanize a large number of professional level posts previously kept out of the African's reach;

2) The insufficient number of candidates academically prepared to receive high level training of the traditional type;

3) The necessity to make optimal use of existing facilities in order to obtain rapid results at a manageable cost.

The adopted solution--unique in French higher education and in Africa--was the creation of the "Centre d'Etudes Administratives et Techniques Supérieures" (C.E.A.T.S.) in Brazzaville. The Center recruited its students among young civil servants whose academic background (mostly B.E.P.C.) would normally have denied them admission to higher education institutions. Its program was aimed at strengthening these students' academic background while improving their "technical" competence.

The Center was located in Brazzaville for the same reasons that, in the past, other new institutions were invariably located there: central geographic position, more abundant local supply of students, more attractive living conditions for European personnel, availability of Federal physical facilities, plants, libraries, and resource personnel engaged in administrative, technical, and research work. But no matter how logical this choice, its net result was, once more, to endow the Congo with institutions it could not have dreamed of obtaining if the other three republics had not brought their contributions in material and human resources. And, as before, the other three republics protested against what they considered as favoritism. The most vocal were naturally the Gabonese, since theirs was the second best claim for having the Center located in their country (high schooling rate,

more advanced economic development, etc., but small population--less than a half million--and eccentric geographic position). Plans called for the establishment of affiliated institutes in each of the other republics.

But by October, 1961, the Center, reorganized under the name of "Centre d'Enseignement Supérieur de Brazzaville" and including a section in which traditional French higher education was introduced, could boast of almost a dozen professional schools and institutes, all located in Brazzaville, except one, the "Institut d'Etudes Agronomiques," at Wokambo, Central Africa Republic. This was too much for the Gabonese who withdrew all their students from the Center. In no uncertain terms, the Gabonese Minister of Education served notice to his colleagues that unless Gabon received its share of higher education facilities it would withdraw from the scheme.¹⁰ As a result, the establishment of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur d'Afrique" was decided. This "Fondation," administered by a board composed of the four Ministers of Education of the Equatorial Republics and of French representatives, acts as a coordinating body for highly decentralized higher education structures. Each republic is to have in its territory some professional schools to which other republics will send their students. It is understood that full-fledged universities in each republic will grow around these professional schools as soon as a sufficient number of students make it possible.

At present, the "Fondation," in its various Institutes and Schools, offers higher education in four areas: Law, Literature, Science, and Medicine, at three levels: 1) traditional higher education given in strict conformance with French standards; 2) special preparation for admission to traditional higher education without the normally required "baccalauréat"; 3) education for "promotion sociale," that is, preparation for careers at the subprofessional level, for B.E.P.C. holders.

The opening of higher education facilities in Brazzaville should have ended the practice of sending the graduates of Congolese secondary schools to France for further education. Since France was paying the costs of both the Brazzaville Center and the metropolitan scholarships, she could not be expected to support Congolese students in overcrowded French universities while offering some of the same programs to half-empty classes in the Congo. Yet, in October, 1961, some of the fresh Congolese "bacheliers" succeeded in obtaining scholarships for studies in France. The situation was becoming intolerable, and the Congolese Government decided to correct it. On June 27, 1962, decree No. 192 announced the Government's decision to keep at home all the students

10. La Semaine Africaine, No. 499, 22-29 mars, 1962, "L'harmonisation de l'Enseignement en Afrique Equatoriale," statement of M. Ekoh, Minister of National Education of Gabon, March 14, 1962.

who could receive appropriate training in local institutions.¹¹ The decree further provided for the setting up of a special committee responsible for estimating highly trained manpower requirements, and, through judicious scholarship award decisions, orienting Congolese students in appropriate fields of study. The Committee, composed of key ministers, apparently holds the authority and competence needed to carry out such an important assignment. As of mid-1962, however, it was still too early to make any prediction regarding its effectiveness.

Finally, the Minister's statement mentioned two points which indicate the Congo's desire to improve its contacts with the world outside France and the Community. English language instruction is to receive priority as a modern language in Congolese schools.¹² Also, half a dozen French-speaking Canadian teachers were expected to join the Congolese secondary school teaching staff in October, 1962, as part of Canada's foreign aid program.

School Administration

Formal organization of education in the Congo expectedly follows the French pattern. Of course, there are many differences. Higher education, for instance, is not yet organized on a strictly Congolese basis. Neither is scientific research. Besides, educational administration has been so repeatedly reorganized in France recently that it is difficult to keep up with it. But its general pattern, being a part of France's civil administration, retains its typical character, easily recognizable in its transferred location in the Congo.

The Congolese school system readily appears to be governed by two superimposed bodies. One, which may be called "political," is the Minister's Cabinet; the other, administrative and technical, and subordinated to the first, is the "Inspection Académique."¹³ The first body

11. "Message from Minister Grandzion," Congo Information, Bulletin Quotidien d'Information (Brazzaville: Agence Congolaise d'Information, 4 juillet, 1962).

12. During the summer of 1962, Congolese trainees, some of them prospective English teachers, were preparing to leave for the United States under an A.I.D. program.

13. There is no adequate translation for "Inspection Académique." "Inspection" means more than inspection; in fact, it covers most administrative functions. "Académique" refers to the administrative divisions of Napoleon's Imperial University. Thus, for administrative purposes, each one of the four A.E.F. territories was likened to an "académie" having at its head a school administrator of the rank of "Inspecteur d'Académie." (No "Recteur" was

is only made up of the Minister of National Education and his immediate assistants, the Director of Cabinet, the Chief of Cabinet, and a small clerical staff. None of these officers are necessarily professional educators, although they often are. The Minister, himself a member of the National Assembly and of the Cabinet, is responsible to these two bodies, and to the people, for the whole operation of the school system. He advises the Government and the Assembly on matters of general policy, prepares new legislation, submits budgets. He has full power to enforce the Government's decisions in educational matters. But his purely technical and administrative functions are carried out through the "Inspection Académique" headed by the Director of Education, a career educator holding the rank of "Inspecteur d'Académie."

The Director of Education is the highest ranking functionary in the Ministry of National Education. He is responsible to the Minister for the operation of the schools. He is the Minister's main source of professional advice regarding the organization of the schools, their staff, programs, methods, buildings, etc. As inspector, he must verify that schools are being operated in accordance with official regulations, and must report on the performance of the teaching and administrative staff. He exercises his powers directly in the area of academic and technical secondary education, through directors in the case of primary, "complementary," and teacher-training schools, and through heads of departments ("chefs de services") dealing with matters of personnel, supplies, examinations, etc.

The Director of Primary Education, a professional educator holding the rank of "Inspecteur Primaire," is responsible for the operation of all primary schools in the country. He is assisted in his task by a number of primary school inspectors, one in each of the twelve Congolese prefectures and in some of the sub-prefectures. The prefectural inspectors are the head school administrators in their respective prefectures, but they have no authority over post-primary institutions located within their territory. The "lycées" are directly supervised by the Director of Education, and the Teacher-Training Schools and the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" (or "Cours Complémentaires") are supervised by their own special Director and an "Inspecteur Primaire," whose offices are located in Brazzaville.

As of mid-1962, no formal organization chart of the Ministry of National Education had been drawn up. The writer was told that its preparation had been ordered for some time, but the delays were not explained. Possibly the need for it was not urgently felt, since the organization was familiar enough to those concerned. However, its absence may be interpreted as a sign that a rapidly changing informal organization was in vogue. As Director of Congolese Education, he also held direct executive powers within the framework of the Congolese civil service, and thus became a target of forces pressing for Africanization (necessary, since higher education was not organized.) After independence, the terms were retained for lack of better ones.

organization was in operation. The preparation of an organization chart would have called for clear definitions of functions and lines of authority and perhaps shown embarrassing discrepancies between rules and reality. Local adaptation of the administrative set-up had been effected by Frenchmen to fit a situation as they saw it. Now, Africanizing forces are at work which could best operate at an informal level. An organizational chart might tend to arrest a strongly desired evolution.

On the basis of various documents, personal interviews, and direct observation, the writer has attempted to reconstruct a picture of the formal organization of the Ministry of National Education. This is represented in the organizational chart given in Appendix IV. Examination of that chart and the following remarks should clarify the preceding discussion.

1) The nature and functions of the Higher Council on Education, the Disciplinary Council, and the Prefectural School Boards have already been discussed. It should be emphasized that these bodies hold no executive powers. Their influence on school operation may fall short of or exceed the limits assigned to them by official regulations.

2) Higher education is under French academic, financial, and administrative responsibility. The Ministers of Education of the four republics sit on the Board of Directors, and each chairs it in turn.

3) The Director and the Chief of the Minister's Office ("Cabinet") have little official power of their own, but their actual power may be great, depending on the personalities involved. These two posts exist in all Congolese ministries, and at least one of the two is at the present time held by a French technical adviser ("conseiller technique"). As of 1962, the Director of Cabinet of the Ministry of Education was a Frenchman, while the Chief was a young Congolese. The former gentleman, by virtue of his personality, experience, and skill was in a position to exercise great power. Indeed, he was the key official in the Ministry of Education.

4) The Director of Education, a French "inspecteur d'Académie," held an easily defined position at the top of the hierarchy of appointed officials. On an informal plane, however, his position was rather ambiguous. As a technical assistant, his functions tended to be merely advisory, but, as an "Inspecteur d'Académie," he was the highest-ranking French civil servant among all the French administrators and teachers employed by the Ministry of National Education. As such, it was his responsibility to supervise their work and report on their performance to his superiors in France. As Director of Congolese Education, he also held direct executive powers within the framework of the Congolese civil service, and thus became a target of forces pressing for Africanization. But his replacement by a Congolese is particularly difficult in the circumstances: no Congolese is qualified to hold the rank of

"Inspecteur d'Académie," and none is likely to be for several years. Now, French civil service rules, and the Frenchmen's sense of proper hierarchical order, make it unthinkable for a "lycée" professor, for instance, to be supervised and "graded" by a person of lower service rank. Nevertheless, Africanization forces are likely to prevail. The solution may be a complex two-headed directorship with one Congolese retaining over-all responsibility while one French technical adviser exercises direct control over French technical assistance personnel only.

5) The Director of Teacher-Training schools and "Collèges d'Enseignement Général," also a Frenchman, is in a somewhat similar position regarding Africanization. He supervises the work of many French school directors and teachers whose careers depend on proper annual inspection reports to their superiors in France. In this case, however, the Director only holds the rank of "Inspecteur Primaire" and most French teachers involved are "instituteurs." Now, immediately following the birth of the autonomous Republic of the Congo (November, 1958), a group of Congolese "instituteurs-adjoints" was sent to Saint-Cloud, near Paris, where they went through an accelerated primary school inspection course. They returned to fill all the primary school inspection posts in the Congo. Although, strictly speaking, it could be argued that these Congolese "Inspecteurs Primaires" are not quite up to metropolitan standards, any one of them could theoretically fill the post in question, and one is likely to do so very soon, with or without the assistance of a French technical adviser.

6) The Director of Primary Education is one of the Congolese "Inspecteurs Primaires" just referred to. He holds over-all responsibility for primary school operation throughout the Congo. At this level, the teaching staff being almost entirely made up of Congolese, no nationality-based administrator-teacher problems are involved. Frictions do develop between the Director of Primary Education and other politically influential prefectural inspectors. This is to be expected because the position offers attractive opportunities for promotion. Since none of the persons involved is qualified (according to French standards), political astuteness is likely to determine the winners.

7) Among the heads of administrative departments, two are still French: the person in charge of Finances and Supplies and the person in charge of Educational Library and Research. The functions of the former are more or less those of a bookkeeper. The latter has very little to do with the work implied by the terms "library" and "research." A very limited quantity of reference materials for teachers is presently available at the "Inspection Académique," and very few teachers know of its existence or care to use it. Besides, as presently organized, it could only serve teachers in the Brazzaville area. The "research" function of this department is rather concerned with curriculum evaluation and development, but its means in staff and funds are totally

inadequate for the job. In addition, this department is responsible for the publication of an educational journal ("revue pédagogique").¹⁴ Finally, the same department, during the school year 1961-62, produced a weekly radio program broadcast over Radio Congo, a state-owned station, for the benefit of Congolese teachers. It discussed methodological problems, clarified points of school legislation, and offered a correspondence course. The program's audience was obviously limited and the response to the correspondence course almost nil.

8) The Departments of Personnel, Examinations, and Scholarships will be discussed at length later.

9) As indicated in the preceding policy discussions, the situation of private "assimilated" education is very ambiguous at present. It is subject to the same rules and regulations as public education, and therefore requires the same supervision and administrative control; yet it retains its own administrative organization. The Catholic Church has appointed Congolese priests as directors of education at the diocese level, but the French priests who filled these posts before independence have remained as "technical assistants." In accordance with Church rules, each bishop retains ultimate responsibility for Catholic education. The Protestant Church is further advanced in the Africanization process, since the Evangelical Church of the Congo has been granted autonomy from her Swedish Mission parent. The Church President is a Congolese although the Swedish former President has stayed on as have the other Swedish missionaries and teachers. In fact, the new official regulations regarding "assimilated" education are much too recent to allow valid judgments as to their actual operation.

10) School construction and health services do not appear on the organizational chart. These services are centralized in the relevant ministries, that is, the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Health. Another Ministry, the "Fonction Publique," is also involved to a certain extent in two areas of educational administration: personnel and examinations. This point will be examined later.

11) Finally, a National Commission for UNESCO was created by decree early in 1962. An Assistant Primary Inspector, a Congolese, was appointed to insure constant liaison between the Commission, UNESCO, and the Ministry of National Education.

School Finances

By any standards, the proportion of financial resources invested in education in the Congo is very high, although the exact amount of

14. Eduquer-Instruire. Brazzaville: Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale. (Brochure.) As of mid-1962, only No. 1 in the series had appeared.

this investment is impossible to determine. Annual school expenditures come from many different sources, each using different accounting and reporting methods; some expenditures are not reported at all. The Ministry of National Education's annual budget includes chiefly personnel and matériel expenditures for primary, secondary, and technical education in public schools, and since 1961, in "assimilated" schools. Prior to that date, public subsidies covered only a varying percentage of the cost of private education's personnel and supply costs. But even now, this personnel item does not include the salaries and traveling expenses of the French teachers and administrators paid directly by F.A.C. ("Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération").¹⁵ Capital investment in school construction, furniture, and staff housing comes almost entirely from sources outside the Congo. F.A.C., and recently, F.E.D.O.M. ("Fonds Européen pour le Développement Outre Mer"), the European Economic Community's financial aid agency, bear most of these costs for public education and part of the costs for private education. In the case of the latter, mission organizations contribute large but unreported sums, mostly from foreign sources. The cost of higher education is also absent from Congolese budget figures. This is true of local facilities and of scholarships in France. The European Community and the United Nations (Special Fund) have recently joined France in supporting these costs.

Nevertheless, since the personnel item in the Congolese education budget represents a fairly regular type of expenditure, it might be useful to compare it with the total national budget over a number of years as an indication of the Congo's educational effort. It must be noted, however, that the national budget itself includes different groups of items from year to year. For example, the 1962 budget includes the cost of supporting the Congolese Army. Prior to that date, such expenditures were borne directly by France and did not appear either in the Congolese budget or in the technical aid accounts. Of course, France granted a special subsidy to the Congo in order to compensate for the newly added burden. Although this may be considered as only a shift in accounting procedures, it affects the total budget figures and tends to decrease the relative importance of other expenditure items.

With these cautionary notes in mind, it is now possible to examine the following budgetary statistics.

15. Although paid by France through F.A.C., French technical assistance personnel pay personal income tax to the Congolese Treasury.

of this for primary school development. Both F.A.O. and F.E.D.O.N. authorities were reluctant to grant such relatively large sums for primary education. The national budget has had to support a larger share of primary school construction. Thus, local and foreign sources (excluding district contributions) financed the following investments:

	1960	1961	1962
1. National Budget (total)	4,465	5,598	7,232
a) Personnel	2,233	2,481	3,368
b) Matériel	695	1,042	1,194
2. Education			
a) Personnel	608	764	897
b) Matériel	121	175	192
c) Scholarships	107	113	138
Percentage: cost of education personnel to "national" personnel costs (2a to 1a)	27.2%	30.8%	26.6%

a. 245 CFA francs equal one U.S. dollar.

Source: U.S. Embassy (Brassaville), Unclassified memo.

The Republic of Congo is normally expected to pay for current expenditures out of local revenues. Thus its forecast budget is nearly always balanced, but deficits occur regularly. So far, the French Treasury has erased the deficits through special subsidies. But it is in capital investment and in technical assistance that French financial contributions are most substantial. In 1961, foreign aid to the Congo totalled almost four and a half billion CFA francs, some two-thirds of it from French sources¹⁶ and most of the rest from Common Market sources. Foreign aid in education has been particularly substantial. The Congo's three-year school development plans called for capital investments of some one billion four hundred million CFA francs, half

17. "Situation de l'Enseignement au 7er janvier 1962," the Minister of Education's annual report, Annex II. (Micrographed.)

16. Excluding contributions to the Congolese Army, to the traveling expenses of Congolese politicians, to coffee and cocoa price stabilization funds, to Air Afrique, and to research foundations. In addition, France spends an estimated one billion CFA francs a year in the Congo for her own military installations.

of them for primary school development. Both F.A.C. and F.E.D.O.M. authorities were reluctant to grant such relatively large sums for primary education, but readily agreed to the Congolese requests for secondary education. In order to keep up with primary school expansion, the national budget has had to support a larger share of primary school construction. Thus, local and foreign sources (excluding mission contributions) financed the following investments in 1961:¹⁷

1. On the national budget:

Construction of: 34 primary school classrooms;
36 staff apartments;
22 C.E.G. classrooms;
15 staff apartments for C.E.G. teachers;

Purchase of: buildings and cost of alterations.

2. On F.A.C. budget:

Construction of: 40 primary school classrooms;
9 C.E.G. classrooms.

In addition, the following constructions were to be undertaken (funds already approved):¹⁸

1. On national budget: funds not yet allocated

2. On F.A.C. budget:

Construction of 112 primary school classrooms:
42 urban and 70 rural Cost: 80 million CFA francs

3. On F.E.D.O.M. budget:

Extension of the "lycée" of Brazzaville: 158 million

Building (permanent type construction) of 12 "collèges
d'Enseignement Général": 386 million

Building of "Ecole Normale Supérieure":¹⁹ 250 million

17. "Situation de l'Enseignement au 1er janvier 1962," the Minister of Education's annual report, Annex II. (Mimeographed.)

18. Ibid.

19. Part of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale," benefitting the four republics.

21. Duvet 22, 3307/EN-1A of May 9, 1961, 61 pp. (Mimeographed.)

It should be noted at once that in spite of the comparatively great financial sacrifices the Congo is making for the support of its schools, it could not maintain this level of current educational expenditures without foreign aid. Local resources currently applied to primary school expansion would be more than absorbed by the cost of foreign teachers and technicians which will be required for many years at the post-primary level, and no expansion at any level would be possible. The availability to a nation of foreign assistance funds can be considered as a sign of that nation's ability to attract such funds. In this sense, they are "national resources." The preceding discussion has shown that the Congo is allocating a large share of its national resources, local and foreign, to education. These allocations may or may not be justified, according to the educational outcomes that they are paying for. Before judgment is passed on this question, it is necessary to discuss further how instruction actually occurs in Congolese schools and what are its quantitative and qualitative outcomes.

Curriculum

Over the years, various policy statements have referred to the need to adapt school programs to African conditions. Programs of studies were actually developed which paid attention to "local conditions." Unfortunately, the absence of documents makes it impossible to judge the exact nature and extent of the effected adaptations beyond somewhat superficial changes in structures and general program orientation. In the Congo, a few days before the Addis Ababa UNESCO/ECA Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa at which a strong plea was made for adaptation,²⁰ a new primary school curriculum was issued by decree.²¹ This decree established a 30-hour, five-day school week, declared Thursday a holiday to allow pupils to receive the religious instruction of their choice, and spelled out in detail the new program of instruction in all subjects at all six primary grade levels. This sixty-page document cannot be reported here, but in order to show its general orientation and to give an idea of its content, numerous examples will be quoted from the moral and civics, history, and geography programs at different grade levels. These subjects are selected because they are the main avenues through which values and attitudes are transmitted in the schools.

Moral and Civic Instruction. At the preparatory level, the program (ten minutes per day), common to both grades, is linked to hygiene:

20. Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "The Content of Education in Africa," Final Report, UNESCO/ECA Conference, Addis Ababa, May 15-25, 1961.

21. Decree No. 3307/EN-IA of May 9, 1961, 61 pp. (Mimeographed.)

One of the teacher's tasks, if not the most important, is to communicate principles of hygiene at the very beginning of schooling. He will thus contribute to the relentless war waged against numerous illnesses and to the correction of bad habits, particularly on the subject of nutrition, all of which cause such devastation in tropical and equatorial countries.

Hygiene and moral instruction at the preparatory level aim at making children acquire good habits: cleanliness, politeness, and punctuality.

The suggested subject matter is presented in the form of statements in the first person: "I am a clean little boy," "I do not stick my pencil into my ears," etc. Moral precepts are related to rules of behavior in the family: obedience, respect, family solidarity.

At the elementary grades level (ten-minute talks each day), moral instruction:

. . . [is] extracted from stories, readings, and everyday incidents of school life, and aimed at reinforcing and further developing already acquired good habits.

At every opportunity the teacher will attract attention to good examples and correct undesirable tendencies. Moral instruction, far from being confined within the artificial limits of a lesson, must dominate, regulate, and command all teaching. Through his character, his behavior, his language, the teacher himself will be his pupils' most persuasive example.

Suggested content embraces the school's physical and social environment, schoolmates, the local community and its institutions, the nation and its great men, and awareness of universal brotherhood.

At the middle grades level, informal talks accompanied by readings are aimed at

. . . bringing students to the reasoned practice of personal and social virtues such as moderation, sincerity, modesty, kindness, courage, tolerance, and communicating to them love of work, taste for cooperation, teamwork spirit, respect for the given word, understanding of others, love of country, respect for other countries, and desire to help the United Nations in its peace efforts.

To those who are about to leave school, a supplement of civic instruction is offered: the administrative, legal, and political organization of the village, the prefecture, the country and its parliamentary system, the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

History Instruction. The official program does not include any formal history (nor geography) instruction at the preparatory grades level.

At the elementary grades level, only one thirty-minute lesson per week is scheduled. It consists of informal talks and simple and concrete stories about great men and salient episodes of Congolese life:

Teachers will seek precise and picturesque details likely to help evoke the near past. For that purpose, they shall interview old people and ask permission to see the prefectural records.

Three historical periods are to be considered: the state of the country before the arrival of the French; French administrative organization; and present administrative organization. . . .

At the middle grades level, a thirty-minute lesson per week is scheduled for virtually the same program as at the elementary level:

While initiating the pupils, without the use of abstract terms or historical jargon, to the knowledge of essential facts and dates of the Congo's national past, the aim is to recreate in a concrete and striking way the life of the Congolese at the main periods of the country's past.

Geography Instruction. This program is more elaborate than the history program and requires two thirty-minute lessons per week.

Lessons are conceived as ways to initiate pupils to the observation and understandings of the main facts of geography and its usual vocabulary.

All lessons are to be based on observation of the environment and explanation of photographs. One should be content with teaching the current technical terms; definitions must be understood and memorized.

At the middle grades level, the program of the previous level is reviewed, and the skills acquired are applied to:

1. Local geography: study through observation--direct, as much as possible--of the village, the city, and the region around it.

Preparation by the pupils of short monographs of the village, the city, or the ward.

2. Initiation to the concept of scale and to cartography.
3. Main aspects of the geography of the Congo, with constant use of maps, charts, and pictures.

4. Essential concepts related to Equatorial Africa, West Africa, and France.

The decree also proposes a month by month distribution of the subject matter over a two-year period. France, for instance, takes up one month (June) at the end of the second year.

French language instruction, the only language in the program, naturally occupies the largest share of the weekly schedule. If one adds reading and writing time to language lessons proper, French takes up the following blocks of the thirty-hour week:

Preparatory grades I and II:	20 hours
Elementary grade I:	18 hours and 20 minutes
Elementary grade II:	15 hours and 30 minutes
Middle grades I and II:	12 hours and 45 minutes

Finally, a program is outlined for the teaching of agriculture to boys and home economics to girls. Through thirty-minute weekly lessons, boys in the two middle grades study the plant, its growth and reproduction, the soil and its conservation. This takes up the first four months of the year. The rest of the year is devoted to the study of the main food and cash crops of the Congo, their description, importance, methods of cultivation, etc. Home economics is taught in 45-minute weekly sessions from the first elementary grade through the end of primary education. Sewing, knitting, the care of clothes, house cleaning and gardening are part of the program.

Another category of subject matter closely related to the preceding ones, "Leçons de choses" (literally, "lessons about things") and applied science, receive two and three times more attention than agriculture and home economics. These lessons consist of:

Observation (accompanied by explanations and practical exercises) of common objects, animals, plants and minerals, and of the main useful materials: metals, wood, stones, potteries, tissues and foods.

As mentioned many times before, secondary education in the Congo is of two main types: 1) the "long cycle," seven-year, academic type provided in "Lycées" and "Collèges Classiques et Modernes"; 2) the "short cycle," four-year, general type, usually provided in "Collèges d'Enseignement Général." The curriculum of the first type is identical to that of comparable "lycées" in France. Indeed, the "baccalauréat" examination it leads to is prepared, supervised and controlled by the University of Bordeaux, France. This program need not be described here. It should be noted, however, that virtually no Congolese students select the classical program. As of 1962, the "C.E.G." programs in the Congo were the same as those followed by similar schools in France, although adapted programs were to be available in the near

future. But the secondary school programs in France itself have been modified recently (June 10, 1960), in part under the influence of the emerging States of the Community which had adopted them. Here again, the history and geography programs will be discussed briefly.

The French "C.E.G." history programs, used unchanged in the Congo, aim at covering the whole period of recorded history, emphasizing Western civilization, and centering around the history of France. The subject matter is distributed over the four-year course of studies:

"Classe de sixième" (first year of secondary level): concept of chronology, ancient civilizations of the Orient, Greece, and Rome.

"Classe de cinquième": the Middle Ages, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the sixteenth century.

"Classe de quatrième": the Modern Period, up to the time of the Congress of Vienna.

"Classe de troisième": Contemporary Period, from 1915 to the Second World War.

The program includes African history only to the extent that the fate of Africa was determined in the European capitals.

The study of the continents, France, and the Community describes the scope of the geography programs distributed over the four years of the short secondary cycle. It is at the level of the "sixième" that important modifications were made. That year was previously devoted to the revision and reinforcement of basic concepts of physical and human geography. The new program retains this subject matter as a first part, to be completed by March 15th at the latest. The rest of the year is devoted to the study of the African continent previously included in the "cinquième" together with Oceania, Asia, and the Americas:

The African Continent is selected because its study is relatively more simple; but also because it is more interesting for children, especially French children since powerful ties link their country to some African countries. Finally, it will be easier for the States of the Community to adopt this program, since it is itself better adapted to the understanding of the Community.

The Collèges d'Enseignement Général or the "Cours Complémentaires," as they were called until recently, were set up in France to serve the students considered incapable of or uninterested in pursuing secondary studies up to the "baccalauréat." Primary school teachers were recruited mostly among them. But since the Second World War, these primary school teachers also must obtain the "baccalauréat." This

constituted the start of a major breakthrough for students who were previously denied entrance into the closed secondary school system. It forced changes in structures and programs in both the "Cours Complémentaires" and the "Lycées." The latter, since 1953, add to the "Section Moderne" (no Latin nor Greek required), a "Section M" which requires only one modern language. The "C.E.G." programs, on the other hand, have felt more strongly the influence of the "Lycées" programs. Thus, Congolese "C.E.D.'s" offer instruction in at least one modern language, enabling their best students to reach the "baccalauréat" through the M section of a "lycée." Students are currently being encouraged to select English as their first modern language. Spanish and German are also offered, although the availability of appropriate teaching staff often determines which modern languages are offered in a particular school.

In summary, the omission of classical language instruction, and the frequent inclusion of only one modern language, allow the "C.E.G." programs to pay more attention to the French language, science, and mathematics instruction--all subjects particularly unfamiliar to most Congolese students' out-of-school environment.

Textbooks and Teaching Aids

As noted earlier, the Ministry of National Education does not impose any particular school textbooks. Official programs are compulsory in all public and "assimilated" schools, and as long as textbooks conform to these programs they are approved by school authorities who have only to be informed of their use. In practice, however, the textbooks most widely used are those selected and supplied free of charge by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry has an impressive collection to choose from. A partial list²² of textbooks adapted to Africa and compiled by a French researcher includes publishing firms most actively engaged in this effort.²³ The authors are all French teachers and school inspectors experienced in African education. There are textbooks available for all subjects at all primary grade levels. Most of these books, however, are intended for the schools of "Afrique Noire," that is, French-speaking Africa (including the ex-Belgian Congo), and within this wide area, they are more often better adapted to the schools of ex-French West Africa. This is understandable, since authors and

22. Typewritten list prepared "Service de Recherches Pédagogiques pour les Pays en Voie de Développement," Paris, September 28, 1961, French Ministry of Education.

23. They are: Librairie ISTRA, 7, rue de Lille, Paris 7^e; Librairie HACHETTE, 79, Bd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6^e; and Librairie FERNAND NATHAN, 18, rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris 6^e.

publishers concentrate on the best possible market. Besides, during the 1950's, Frenchmen were thinking in terms of large federations, such as French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, within the French Union. The former federation, because of its larger total population and its relatively more advanced schooling, was more in need of adapted textbooks, and represented a more attractive market. The states of this West African federation, now separate and independent republics, all include a more or less important element of Islamized populations. Books adapted to the environment of these school children are less appropriate for the "purely" Bantu populations of Gabon and Congo, but they still represent a marked improvement over books written for French metropolitan schools, and they are presently used in the Congo. The list as of 1962 follows:

Republic of Congo--Ministry of National Education
List of School Textbooks in Use at the
Beginning of the 1962-63
School Year²⁴

<u>Title of Textbooks</u>	<u>Authors</u>	<u>Publishers</u>
<u>Manuel d'Agriculture</u>	A. Davesne	Librairie ISTRA
<u>Calcul des Ecoles d'Afrique Noire</u> (Cours Élémentaire)	Auriol et Séguier	HACHETTE
<u>Calcul Vivant</u> (1er livre)	Vassort	HACHETTE
<u>Contes de la Brousse et de la Forêt</u>	A. Davesne	ISTRA
<u>Géographie</u> (Cours Élémentaire des Ecoles d'Afrique Noire)	F. Geffroy	HACHETTE
<u>Géographie</u> (Cours Moyens I & II des Ecoles d'Afrique Noire)	Rubon & Saxe	ISTRA
<u>Langage au Cours Préparatoire:</u>		
<u>Manadou et Bineta--Syllabaire</u>	A. Davesne	ISTRA
" " --lières lectures	"	"
" " --lisent et écri- vent couramment	"	"
<u>Langue Française</u> (C.N. II)	"	"
<u>Lectures Vivantes</u> (C.N. II)	"	"

24. Typewritten list supplied by the Ministry of National Education, "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville, March, 1962.

List of Textbooks (continued)

<u>Title of Textbooks</u>	<u>Authors</u>	<u>Publishers</u>
<u>Famille Diawara</u> (C.E. II)	A. Davesne	ISTRA
<u>Hygiène et Conseils Divers-pour les Africains de la zone tropicale</u>	F. Grébert	ISTRA
<u>Leçons de Choses et Sciences Appliquées</u> (C.N. II)	Skart et Jelly	Fernand NATHAN
<u>Exercices d'Observation</u> (C.N. I) (C.N. II)	Boucher et Paule	" "
<u>Livre de Morale</u> (C.E. II) (C.N. II)	Seuthé	" "

Although most of the above-listed textbooks were written before the Congo issued its official school program, they follow the general distribution of subject matter and cover approximately the same areas. There is a close similarity between the Congo's programs and those of other French-speaking African states for which the textbooks were produced in the first place. In certain subjects, several different texts are being published. In French language instruction, for instance, Congo authorities may choose from among at least ten more or less complete sets already on the market. But in history, no textbook adapted to the Congo was available in 1962 although some were expected to be published in 1963. Unlike geography, treated as a descriptive physical science and relatively easy to adapt to any given physical setting, history is generally used as a major instrument of cultural transmission (even indoctrination) in the schools. This point is clearly demonstrated by the following comparison of four history textbooks "adapted" to African schools. Their treatment of two topics, "slave trade" and "education and health services" will be compared:

1. Géographie et Histoire de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, by Pierre Camache. Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1949 (out of print). Publication sponsored by the Government General of A.E.F.

This text, written by a former French teacher in A.E.F. for use in the top primary grades, states in the author's foreword:

... it is not altogether a bad thing for the Africans to learn about their country and to realize what they owe to those who have bestowed upon them the benefits of their culture.

Slave trade is mentioned in the text only in connection with its official abolition by the Second Republic, in 1848, thanks largely to

the insistence of a French humanitarian, Victor Schoelcher. The author introduces the subject in these words:

French Equatorial Africa was, from time immemorial, the blessed land of slavery. The Blacks used in this sad trade all came from Africa, and central Africa was supplying a large number of them.

If white slave-traders were profiting from it [slave-trade], many petty kings and sultans were [also] living off this trade, making a true, well organized industry of it. . . .

Then, the role of the French seamen, explorers (such as de Brazza) and "pacifiers" in putting an end to slave trade against the armed opposition of African tyrants, such as Rabah and Senoussi, is eloquently presented.

On the subject of education and public health, historian Guesche simply quotes Albert Sarraut:²⁵

[in the field of health] It has been necessary to fight, in the natives, the obstacle which their habits, prejudices, superstitions, and sorceries put in the way of the French doctors' efforts.

Health centers were multiplied: hospitals, clinics, laboratories, Pasteur institutes.

Schools have been established to train native doctors, assistants, nurses, midwives.

The educational effort encountered, at the beginning, native routine, then France multiplied the schools which every day prove insufficient in number. Everywhere the native has a thirst for knowledge.

2. Risque de l'Afrique Occidentale, by Djibril Tamsir Niane and J. Surin-Canale. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1961.

This text first appeared in October, 1960, as a history textbook published by the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Guinea, for use in the primary and secondary schools of that country. It was intended to replace the old history textbooks ". . . imbued with the colonial ideology, less concerned with the history of African peoples than with the history of colonization."²⁶ This book is obviously imbued with the Marxist-Leninist ideology.²⁷

25. Albert Sarraut, Grandeur et Servitude Coloniales (Paris: Le Sagittaire, 1929).

26. Authors' foreword, p. 3.

27. Ibid., p. 142.

One must judge colonization on the basis of its objective role. Now, this objective role has been to impose, for the benefit of a handful of men, the exploitation of the masses in colonized countries by taking away from them all freedom, all human dignity.

And, further:²⁸

Thus was revealed the true character of colonization: the frenzied exploitation of African populations for the benefit of foreign imperialist capital.

On the subject of slavery, the book first explains how, following the discovery of America, large plantations were established by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. When the local supply of enslaved laborers became insufficient, the Spaniards and the Portuguese came to buy slaves from Africa:²⁹

In exchange for slaves, they gave shoddy merchandise, cloth, firearms, and alcohol. This shameful trade for humanity is called slave trade.

It lasted from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century, taking millions of men from Africa. During three centuries, Africa no longer enjoyed peace for, in order to obtain slaves, one had to pillage and to destroy villages, then to bring the captive to the ports where the Europeans' ships were waiting for them.³⁰

This quotation makes no specific mention of the French and the British slave traders, but French native policy ("indigénat") is presented as a form of slavery:³¹

The native, a French subject, was deprived of all rights. Without trial he could be beaten or imprisoned according to the commandant's fancy. He had to pay taxes, regardless of his income. Finally, he had to support the burden of forced labor; he was requisitioned for cultivation, portage, road-building, or for the needs of the settlers or of the chiefs.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

30. Note that the authors carefully avoided to identify those who seized the slaves and brought them to the ships. In the French language original, the indefinite pronoun "on" is used.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

On the subject of education and health care:³²

In order to obtain subordinate cadres (clerks for government or trading firms) a few schools were set up: but only a truncated education was provided, aimed at making young Africans despise their culture and people, admire the colonizers, and submit to them. The normal school W. Ponty [Dakar] trained teachers and "native" doctors provided with a diploma without equivalence to those of France, which denied them all opportunities of obtaining French degrees and even of having access to higher education.

In 1945, the proportion of Africans knowing how to read and write was lower than 5% of the population. There were not ten Africans who had had access to higher education.

In the field of medicine, the army doctors of the "Colonial Medical Corps" could hardly satisfy the needs of European and African civil servants. "Native Medical Assistance" had cruelly insufficient personnel and facilities. The fight against "sleeping sickness" was undertaken only when it was feared that it would cause a shortage of manpower.

In spite of these difficult conditions, many teachers and doctors, Europeans and Africans, did an admirable job: in spite of all precautions, education given in the schools effectively contributed to the emergence of national consciousness.

3. Histoire des Peuples Noirs, by Assol Adiko and André Clérici (Collection d'Histoire à l'Usage des écoles d'Afrique). Abidjan: C.E.D.A., 1961.

The two first books represent opposite extremes in their interpretation of colonialism. This third one adopts a more balanced attitude, but clearly represents an African nationalist point of view. According to the introduction, its author aims at presenting "... without passion, hatred, or exultation" an overview of the history of Black Africa to African school children before introducing them to world history.

Author Adiko, like his Guinean colleagues, explains the origin of slave trade by the fact that the European plantation owners in America needed more manpower than was locally available:³³

In their African trading posts ("Comptoirs") the Portuguese acquired the habit of buying slaves whom they resold in America. In order to engage in this dishonorable activity, they did business with African chiefs. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese lost their trade monopoly in Africa to the advantage of the Dutch, the British, and the French--who all had American possessions--trade was intensified and systematized: it became the "triangular trade."

32. Ibid. p. 134.

33. Ibid., pp. 82-83.

Further details are offered concerning the character of slavery:³⁴

This crime against humanity is very different from the usual forms of slavery. In Africa, as in ancient Greece, there were slaves. But if they often led a life of hardships, they were sometimes integrated by their masters into the life of the family or the group. The African slaves transported to America served exclusively to develop the land and the mines conquered by the Europeans. Slavery has made possible the development of the American colonies.

On the subject of education, this textbook states:³⁵

In French-speaking Africa, for example, where the situation is less bad, schooling is still far from reaching the total school-age population; the proportion of illiterates is still considerable (80 to 95%); in addition, there is the problem of adult education. If primary education has been developing, particularly since 1945, secondary institutions have been established very slowly. As far as higher education is concerned, it was created recently, for example at Dakar, where various higher education institutions were transformed into a full-fledged university.

In the field of public health:³⁶

The colonial period had already seen a real demographic upsurge, a combined effect of established security and of the discoveries of modern medicine. The recent systematic vaccination campaigns organized by the researchers and doctors of the Pasteur institutes have improved the state of health of the populations. It is true that infant mortality remains a social scourge.

After the war, new progress was made in the diffusion of antibiotics and powerful insecticides such as DDT. On the continent, the health missions, national or international, multiplied. The number of hospitals, available beds, medical staff, stationary or mobile, really started to increase while remaining very inferior to the needs.

The authors further report that between 1930 and 1960 the total population of French-speaking Africa (excluding the ex-Belgian Congo) increased from 19 to 29 millions, a more than 50% increase. But he warns against the unreliability of census figures for that period.

The Guinean textbook, for its part, flatly states that the population

34. *Ibid.*, p. 86. *Afrique Occidentale*, op. cit., p. 152.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

of Equatorial Africa, "... estimated at 10 million inhabitants at the beginning of the century, fell to less than 3 million in 1921."³⁷ This is an excellent example of the way "facts" can be used in support of a particular thesis.

4. Histoire d'Afrique Equatoriale (Middle Grades I & II), by J. Ernault. Issy-les-Moulineaux: Editions Saint-Paul, 1961.

This text, written before independence and often revised since its first publication, is part of a series of booklets on history and geography. It is being used in the Catholic schools of French-speaking Africa.

The problem of slavery is treated in much the same way as in the third textbook. But this is added:³⁸

The Catholic Church, since the very beginning, has protested against slave trade: in 1462, Pope Pius II condemned slavery, and the Popes and the missionaries have ceaselessly opposed it.

Progress in education and health care since World War II is summarised in these words:³⁹

The number of schools is increasing, but education is not provided equally in all territories [of A.E.F.], and certain areas do not offer sufficient outlets for the youth coming out of schools. The medical effort already undertaken has to be pursued through the establishment of many more clinics and the training of the African in better hygienic practices.

In the last chapter, the booklet also mentions the work accomplished by the Church in providing Christian education and in training an African clergy.

Only one of the history textbooks just compared is presently used in Congolese schools. The content of future Congolese history textbooks can be expected to vary according to the viewpoint of their authors, but it can be predicted that they will follow the general lines of the third and fourth texts just discussed, and be closer to the former. This is based on the fact that no Congolese is yet capable of writing a history textbook. French writers, on the other hand, have long

37. Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale, op. cit., p. 152.

38. Cf. p. 20.

39. Cf. p. 51.

hesitated to undertake the task. They realize that no text will be acceptable to Congolese authorities unless it stresses the history of the Congo before the colonial period. Now, unlike the kingdoms of Mali and Ghana, the kingdoms of Loango, Kongo and Anzico are only known through spotty documentary and archaeological evidence. European scholars, even those sympathetic toward African nationalist feelings, are still reluctant to admit oral tradition as a major source of historical evidence. However, a compromise is certain to be adopted in the near future.

To the school textbooks already discussed, one must add those produced by the religious missions. Even before this century, missionaries, Catholics as well as Protestants, had written many textbooks: French-native language dictionaries, language and religious instruction school texts, etc. After the 1920 regulations regarding the exclusive use of French as the language of instruction, the Swedish missionaries simply adopted the "official" textbooks. They still do, and so do the missionaries of the Salvation Army in the few schools which they operate in the Congo. The Catholics, however, because of the importance of their school networks throughout French-speaking Africa, have both the talents and the financial resources to write and publish their own textbooks. Thus, "Les Editions Saint-Paul, Presses Missionnaires," located at Issy-les-Moulineaux, near Paris, publish a fairly complete series of textbooks adapted to the primary schools of French-speaking Africa. These texts, written by priests or by men and women belonging to religious orders who have had teaching experience in African schools, also follow the curricula prescribed for African schools in the last ten years or so. Quite apart from the economic advantage offered by independent publication of textbooks for their own schools, Catholic missionaries are led to adopt this solution in order "to repair the damage" caused by the exclusion of religious instruction as such from the official programs. In this way, the Church can infuse a Christian, Roman Catholic spirit in all subject matter taught in the schools. In the words of Pope Pius XI: "It is necessary that all education, the whole school organization--personnel, programs, textbooks--be governed by a true Christian spirit."⁴⁰ For example, a primer, after introducing the sounds "...ien" and "...éen," can use this practice text:⁴¹

Our guardian ["gardien"] angel stands guard over us.
The European ["Européen"] has a white skin, the Dahomeyan ["Dahoméen"] has a black skin; both are children of God. They should love one another like brothers.

40. Quoted in the foreword of *Apprenons à lire*, a primer written by C. Grill and published by Les Editions Saint-Paul, 1960. (This text was first published in 1940.)

41. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

The Catholic school textbooks, like the public school ones, and for the same reasons, are more closely adapted to West African schools than to the Congo. However, the publication of school programs specifically Congolese will undoubtedly encourage the production of textbooks also specifically adapted to the Congo.

At the secondary level, the programs being almost identical to those of French metropolitan schools, French textbooks are used. Although the need for adaptation is less acutely felt at that level, there is a current movement toward adapting history and geography texts, particularly those used in the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général."

A final note must be added. This discussion of Congolese school textbooks is largely "academic": textbooks are in terribly short supply in Congolese schools. In rural schools, only a few books are available per classroom. In some cases, not even the teacher has a textbook in some subjects. In Brazzaville, during the academic year 1961-62, only 15 textbooks for moral and civic instruction were made available by the Ministry of Education to 33 classrooms which needed them!

Examinations

The Department of Examinations, at the "Inspection Académique" of the Ministry of National Education, is concerned with two types of examinations: 1) school examinations designed to measure the achievements of pupils at various levels; 2) competitive examinations. The competitive examinations are of two types: a) for entrance into the "classe de sixième," that is, the secondary level, and certain special sections such as teacher-training or home economics; b) on behalf of the Civil Service ("Fonction Publique") for direct recruitment of personnel or for promotion from one category to another in the various government services. In this last case, the Department of Examinations is only responsible for preparing questions designed to assess the level of general education attained by civil service candidates and for grading papers. The "technical" parts of the competitive examinations are the responsibility of the government services concerned.

Annual school examinations are held on a nationwide scale at two levels:

1) At the end of the primary course of studies, that is, for pupils completing the second year of the middle grades ("Cours Moyen, deuxième année"). They decide whether the candidate will receive a Primary School Certificate ("Certificat d'Etudes Primaires Elémentaires"). Pupils' candidacy is not automatic but requires a school director's recommendation. The Certificate itself does not open the doors to secondary studies. Examination questions are selected from those submitted by middle grade teachers, and cover all subjects in

the programs⁴² in strict conformance with those programs.

The Secondary School Entrance Examination ("Examen d'entrée en sixième"), held about one month before the Primary Certificate Examination, is a competitive examination, that is, it forms the basis for selection of as many secondary school pupils as there are places available in all types of post-primary schools. Age and the marks obtained by successful candidates determine their orientation: candidates thirteen years old or less on the date of the examination are oriented toward the long courses of secondary studies offered in the two public "lycées" and in the Catholic "Collège Chaminade"; fourteen-year old candidates are oriented toward the short courses of studies offered in over two dozen "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" and in the vocational section of the "Lyce Technique" in Brussaville (exceptionally strong candidates in this group may be admitted in the first group); candidates older than fourteen years of age are oriented toward the teacher-training institutions or toward the Agricultural School at Sibiti. Girls up to twenty years of age will be admitted in a newly established vocational school for secretarial training.

At the end of the secondary short cycle ("classe de troisième"), two different series of examinations are given. Students who have not studied foreign languages are given a particularly difficult examination in French, mathematics, and science. Successful candidates receive a "Brevet Élémentaire" ("B.E.") which is normally a terminal certificate, that is, its holder is not expected to pursue his general education any further. This certificate was once thought to be particularly suitable for prospective primary school teachers. It is becoming less and less popular.

The second type of examinations include foreign languages, even Latin, and is given to pupils of the "classe de troisième" of "lycées" and "Collège d'Enseignement Général" who have studied one or two modern languages, whether or not they hope to pursue their secondary studies. Successful candidates receive the "Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle" (B.E.P.C.) which, like the C.E.P.E., does not automatically enable its holder to pursue further general or specialized studies. The Department of Examinations holds competitive examinations for admission to teacher-training courses. Successful candidates are admitted to the so-called "Section A" preparing assistant teachers ("instituteurs-adjoints") through a one-year course of studies. Some of the unsuccessful candidates may, if they wish, be admitted to "Section B" preparing "moniteurs supérieurs" through a one-year course of studies. Students of "Section A," upon graduation, are awarded a Normal School Certificate, while students of "Section B" merely receive a Normal School Leaving Diploma.

42. The June, 1962, Session did not include questions related to moral and civic instruction.

Admission to the second stage of the secondary course ("deuxième cycle") may be granted to students originally oriented toward a short course of studies. These students are selected through competitive examinations given by each "lycée."

"Baccalauréat" examinations are not the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education. The "baccalauréat" is the first of the French university degrees, and as such it can only be conferred by a university--in the case of the Congo, by the University of Bordeaux. A committee made up of the local "Inspecteur d'Académie" and of "lycée" teachers is responsible for administering the tests and grading the papers. A candidate who scores 10 out of a maximum of 20 points is automatically given the title of "Bachelier de l'enseignement du second degré." Candidates scoring between 7 and 10 are given a second chance ("rapprochement") by taking an oral examination called "de contrôle." This oral session is held locally. It should be noted that whereas the written examinations are controlled by France--presumably in strict conformance with French standards--the oral examination jury is subject to certain local pressures. Apart from the fact that the candidates are personally known to some of the examiners, the latter may tend to be responsive to the desires of local academic and political authorities who like to report the largest possible number of passes.

The Department of Examinations is one of those recently Africanized in spite of its highly technical functions. The great importance of examinations as the keys to further studies, to lucrative employment, or to promotions, makes this Department the focus of all sorts of pressures and criticisms. In the present political climate of the Congo, French technical assistants tend to avoid being involved in the operation of this Department. Thus, the responsible Congolese officials are left to face difficult problems:

1) French teachers tend to avoid examination assignments: paper grading delays their departure for the Metropole where they spend the summer holidays.

2) Some examination centers are difficult of access. This often causes delays for which the Department is blamed.

3) The Department lacks an adequate supply of textbooks, reference books, mimeographing material, etc.

It should be emphasized that the Department of Examinations is not expected to contribute to the evaluation and to the improvement of school programs. It is simply informed of effected changes.

4) Not all the information reported in this section was obtained in the course of personal interviews with the Head of the Department of Scholarships, Ministry of Education, Brazzaville.

Scholarships 43

Until after World War II, boarding facilities had to be maintained in regional and territorial primary schools in order to provide educational opportunities to out-of-town children. With the spread of three- and six-grade primary schools to smaller centers, the Government's main scholarship effort has shifted to the secondary school level for which facilities are not yet made available in centers smaller than sub-prefectural headquarters.

In public secondary schools (academic and technical "lycées," "collèges d'enseignement général," and vocational schools), the directors admit as many boarders as there are beds available in government-maintained facilities. Each school receives a monthly allowance at the rate of 7,100 CFA francs per boarding student--paid as a lump sum together with the school's operating allowance. For private schools, a total amount is set aside in the annual budget (13,000,000 CFA francs in 1962), and a number of scholarships is allotted to each school in proportion to its total enrollment. The amount of monthly allowance per student is theoretically set at 6,000 CFA francs for Brassaville and 4,000 CFA francs for Pointe-Noire, plus an annual allowance of 4,100 CFA francs per student to cover the cost of bedding and clothing. In practice, private schools keep more boarders than the number of government scholarships would normally allow. By keeping costs at the lowest possible level, by making maximum use of existing facilities, and by adding private donations and mission funds to government scholarships, the private secondary schools manage to maintain up to twice the number of boarding students supported by the government. Since scholarships are not granted to students individually but included in the total school's subsidy, students are only concerned with being admitted as boarders. If the economy measures adopted by the mission authorities may sometimes reduce their personal comfort, the students have not been complaining.

In 1962, six private institutions received scholarships--one Protestant (N'Goué) and five Catholic. Among these five, actual distribution of scholarships is left to Church authorities who may allocate them according to needs.

Although the students are mostly unaware of it, a Scholarship's Commission examines the records of all scholarship candidates proposed by the school directors. Within the limits of the allocated number of scholarships, grants are made depending on the student's examination results and on his parents' ability to pay (most African students are eligible under this second criterion). Failure to be promoted to the

43. Most of the information reported in this section was obtained in the course of personal interviews with the Head of the Department of Scholarships, Ministry of Education, Brassaville.

next higher grade brings about a 30 per cent reduction in scholarship funds; two successive failures, a cancellation of all funds; and, in most cases, this is equivalent to a dismissal from school.

The Scholarships Department merely administers the program. Full powers of decision are held by the Scholarship Commission made up of the Minister of National Education (Chairman), the "Inspecteur d'Académie," the Primary School Inspector, the Heads of the Scholarships and the Finance Department, three National Assemblymen, the "Professeurs" of the two public "lycées" and the Director of the Technical "lycée," the Director of Catholic Education (Archdiocese of Brazzaville), the President of the Evangelical Church of the Congo, the Colonel of the Salvation Army, and the President of the Parents Association. This Commission is concerned only with the allocation of scholarships applied to secondary studies (academic or technical) in Congolese institutions.

For studies in local higher education institutions and for secondary and higher education abroad (mostly in the Metropole), two committees were set up by Decree No. 182 of June 27, 1962. As of the summer of 1962, these committees had not started to operate. However, their mere composition is of interest here:

I) Orientation Commission ("Commission d'Orientation"):

Minister of Planning and Equipment, Chairman.

Members:

Minister of National Education

Minister of Civil Service

Minister of Finance

Other Ministers and representatives of public and private agencies

This Commission is charged with the responsibility of assessing, at any particular time, the country's trained manpower needs and of establishing the principles governing the allocation of scholarship funds in a manner most likely to fill these needs.

II) Executive Committee ("Commission Compétente"):

1) Permanent Secretariat:

"Inspecteur d'Académie"

Inspector of Administrative Affairs

Head of the Department of Scholarships

Representative of the Minister of Finance

Representative of the Civil Service Minister

Representative of the Minister for Economic Affairs

Representative of the Minister of Labor

2) Other members:

One representative for each of the following departments or organizations: Higher Education, Secondary Education, Technical Education, Primary Education, Catholic Education, Protestant (Evangelical) Education, Pupils' Parents Association

Two representatives of Congolese scholarship students in France (chosen by students among those who are in the Congo at the time of the annual Commission meeting)

It is hoped that these two high-power commissions will have the information and the authority required to make the most efficient use of human and financial resources available for the training of the country's cadres.

Teaching Staff: Status and Training

Congolese public and "assimilated" school staff are integrated in the Congo's Civil Service. As such, their status is determined by Civil Service rules laid down in August, 1957, that is, approximately one year before the Congo became an autonomous republic. Since independence, the organization has been modified, especially at the higher levels, but the old rules still apply generally to the schools' staff.

Civil servants are classified into five main categories designated by letters A, B, C, D, and E, according to their level of general education and professional training:⁴⁴

- Category A: personnel recruited in Higher Professional Schools ("Grandes Ecoles")
- Category B: recruited among "licence" holders (normally, three years beyond the "baccalauréat")
- Category C: recruited among "baccalauréat" (2 parts) holders
- Category D: recruited among holders of the "baccalauréat" (first part only), the "Brevet Elémentaire," or the "Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle"
- Category E: recruited among holders of the "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires"

Selection for all categories is done through competitive examinations, except when a candidate enters a category lower than the one for which he is qualified to apply. In order to allow for slight differences in levels of training, each category may be subdivided into

44. "Délibération No. 42/57 portant statut général des fonctionnaires des cadres du Territoire du Moyen-Congo," p. 6. (Himnographed.)

subcategories. There are ten steps within each category. Promotion from one step ("échelon") to the next higher step is normal every two years, but promotion after one year is granted for exceptional performance, or delayed one year for disciplinary reasons. These categories and steps apply to all administrative, financial, technical, and social services (including Education and Public Health).

In accordance with this classification, it is now possible to give school personnel statistics:

TABLE 19
REPUBLIC OF CONGO: SCHOOL PERSONNEL
MAY 1, 1962

Schools	Men	Women	Total	Distribution by Rank	Percentage of Total
Public	863	119	982	Instituteur	3.2
				Instituteur-adjoint	16.0
				Moniteur Supérieur	15.1
				Moniteur Titulaire	18.9
				Moniteur Contractuel	43.2
Assimilated (Catholic)	873	72	945	Instituteur	2.6
				Instituteur-adjoint	12.2
				Moniteur Supérieur	20.6
				Moniteur Titulaire	45.6
				Moniteur Contractuel	19.0
Assimilated (Protestant)	268	23	291	Instituteur	0.3
				Instituteur-adjoint	8.6
				Moniteur Supérieur	20.9
				Moniteur Titulaire	51.2
				Moniteur Contractuel	18.8
Assimilated (Salvation Army)	33	1	34	Instituteur	0.0
				Instituteur-adjoint	2.9
				Moniteur Supérieur	17.6
				Moniteur Titulaire	61.8
				Moniteur Contractuel	17.6
Total	2037	215	2252		

Source: Information based on oral communication from the Head of the Personnel Department, "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville, and on mimeographed statistical tables prepared by the same Department.

The ranks appearing in Table 19 correspond to the following civil service categories: "Instituteur," category C; "Instituteur-adjoint," category D; "Moniteur Supérieur," category E1; "Moniteur Titulaire" and "Contractuel," category E2. The rank of "Instituteur," according to the rules of the French civil service, requires a "baccalauréat" which no Congolese primary school teacher holds. Those appearing in the above figures are foreign teachers, that is, missionaries and French technical assistance personnel teaching mostly in the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général." In October, 1963, some 17 Congolese graduates of the Education Section of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" (Brazzaville) were to enter this category and teach in the "C.E.G.," although they will not hold the "baccalauréat" degree. Above them, a few "Inspecteurs Primaires" belong to category B, although they do not hold a "licence." They have gone through an accelerated training course organized for them at the "Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud" (near Paris).

Percentage distributions among the other ranks deserve comments:

1) The "Instituteurs-adjoints" must hold a "B.E." or a "B.E.P.C.," and must have had at least one year of professional training. Percentages in the various school systems show that the public schools have a higher proportion of this type of teacher. This is largely explained by the fact that public Normal Schools were organized before the private ones in the Congo (cf. the Federal School at Mouyoundzi, now operating as a girls Normal School, and the Normal School at Dolisie). Until recently, the Catholic school system had only one source of "Instituteurs-adjoints" (Collège Chaminade, Brazzaville), and the Evangelical Church still has only one source (N'Gouédi Normal School). Moreover, until the assimilation of the private school personnel (September, 1961) into the Civil Service, conditions were more attractive in the public school system, and an undetermined number of private school-trained "Instituteurs-adjoints" joined it. (This is also true of the lower categories.) In fact, one should expect to find a much higher percentage of "Instituteurs-adjoints" in the public schools. In the almost complete absence of "baccalauréat" holders at the time the Congo cadres were rapidly Africanized, these teachers formed a large part of the educated élite of the Congo and constituted the richest reservoir of potential leaders in the political, social, and administrative fields. The emergence of these former teachers to leadership positions in all African French-speaking countries is a well-known phenomenon. Furthermore, the remaining "Instituteurs-adjoints" are still being tapped for higher administrative or teaching positions. Such is the case of the "Instituteurs-adjoints" being trained for school inspection and for teaching in the expanding "C.E.G." system.

2) The "moniteurs supérieurs" are those who, because of their age or of their lack of demonstrated intellectual ability, have never succeeded in obtaining their "brevet." In fact, they receive almost the

same professional training as the "instituteurs-adjoints," but their lower academic qualifications sharply limit their opportunities for higher or different positions. Thus, they tend to form a more stable element, as indicated by their presence in similar proportions in all four school systems. Of course, a number of them occasionally succeed in moving up to the next higher category by passing the "brevet" examinations.

3) The "moniteurs," "titulaire" or "contractuels," constitute more than three-fifths of the teaching staff in all four school systems, ranging from 62.1 per cent (public schools) to 79.4 (Salvation Army schools). Their level of general education is rarely higher than the "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires," that is, sixth grade education. The "moniteurs titulaires" receive, in addition, one year of professional training. They are integrated in the Civil Service. The "moniteurs contractuels," on the other hand, are substitute "moniteurs" employed temporarily on a year-to-year basis in order to fill most urgent personnel needs. They are given an initial two-month training course and as close on-the-job assistance and supervision as possible. They constitute one-fifth or less of the private school staff, but more than two-fifths of the public school staff, a further indication that the combined effect of rapid primary school expansion and of a heavy turnover in the normally trained staff has greatly lowered the educational and the professional training levels of the public school staff. It is generally assumed that the quality of public school instruction was proportionately lowered. However, reliable evidence to support this contention has not been gathered.

4) Women constitute less than 10 per cent of the teaching staff, and the greater part of the number reported is not Congolese but is made up of French Catholic nuns, wives of Protestant missionaries, or of French technical assistants. The small number of Congolese girls in the teaching profession can easily be explained. Until recently, girls' education lagged far behind; girls attending school tended to enter at an older age than boys and to leave sooner. Since the breakup of the A.E.F. federation, the Federal Normal School of Mouyoundzi had been converted into a Normal School for girls. At the end of the academic year 1961-62, seven girls were enrolled in the graduating class; two of these were expected to join the teaching profession! A similar situation exists at the Ecole Javouhey, run by Catholic nuns, and at N'Gouédi, run by the Evangelical Church. It will undoubtedly be some years before Congolese girls constitute a substantial part of the Congolese teaching staff.

Teachers' salaries are determined by the Civil Service categories and the steps ("échelons") within the categories to which they belong. Minimum and maximum indices are set for each step and apply to all branches of the Civil Service. These indices range from 120 to 1900 when applied to school personnel. In monetary terms, it is sufficient to remark that a beginning "moniteur" (category E, first step) earned

16,000 CFA francs per month in 1962, while the beginning "instituteur-adjoint" earned 34,000 CFA francs per month, plus "fringe" benefits and, when possible, free housing.⁴⁵ It should be noted that French and Congolese teachers are paid according to the same scale. French teachers actually earn more than Congolese teachers do, partly because of their higher classification and because of various special privileges and allowances for service overseas.

Professional preparation of teachers is both theoretical and practical in character. Theory is reduced to a bare minimum, in view of the low level of general education of the student-teachers. Instruction consists of a brief introduction to the study of basic pedagogical principles, of methodology, of classroom management, and of school legislation. Practice teaching is carried out in any conveniently located primary school.

Teacher-training textbooks adapted to Africa, like primary school textbooks, have attracted the attention of French educators. The earliest example dates back to the 1890 "Coutumier de l'Oeuvre des Enfants" mentioned earlier. The A.E.F. government sponsored the publication of another one in 1928.⁴⁶ Some are undoubtedly being written at present, but two are already in use:

1) Mémento de l'Instituteur d'Afrique Noire, by André Terrisse.⁴⁷ This 127-page paperback is a practical guide for public school teachers. Its "inspirational" content emphasizes the social role of the teacher, his nation-building mission, and his contribution to the advancement of civilization. It is adapted to the level of the "moniteurs."

2) Pédagogie du Maître Africain, by F. Macaire and P. Raymond.⁴⁸ This 382-page book is divided into three parts: Pedagogy, Methodology, and Psychology. Thus, it can be used at all current levels of African teacher education. It attempts to present an overview of the philosophical, social, and psychological foundations of education as well as a

45. During the same period the legal minimum wage in the Brazzaville area stood at approximately 8,500 CFA francs per month for domestic servants (about \$35 U.S.). Because of the current high rate of unemployment, this minimum wage is also the actual salary of most laborers and domestic servants.

46. Pierre Gamache, Guide pour les Moniteurs (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle, 1928). (Out of print.)

47. Paris: Fernand Nathan, undated.

48. Issy-Les-Moulineaux: Editions Saint-Paul, Presses Missionnaires, 1960.

fairly detailed discussion of methods. Its aim is to train not just teachers, but Roman Catholic teachers. Religion and religiously based moral education is the authors' main preoccupation. The teacher is seen as a representative of parents, Church, and State, in that order. Although the text is clear, simple, and well-organized, it may be a little difficult for the "moniteurs," but it adequately fills the needs of the "instituteurs-adjoints."

The low level of academic and professional preparation of most Congolese teachers does not escape the attention of local school authorities, public as well as private. Efforts are constantly being made to fill the gaps: practical guides and model lessons are supplied to the "moniteurs"; supervision is as close as the available experienced personnel will make it; week-end and summer workshops and lectures are organized. But it remains that these inadequately trained teachers have fewer opportunities for professional growth than their better trained colleagues in more developed countries.

Quantitative Outcomes

The main elements of the Congolese educational system, as it presently operates, have all been discussed. The outcomes of this system can be considered under two aspects. The quantitative results reflect how many Congolese school children are being educated, to what level, in what types of programs, etc. An indication of quality may also be given in quantitative terms by considering the number of successful candidates at the various official examinations. Such is the object of the present section. Then, attempts will be made at suggesting some of the qualitative effects of Congolese formal education through a rapid analysis of pupils' responses to questionnaires designed to study the impact of modern education on the aspirations of Congolese youth. This will be treated in the next section.

Since the Congo gained autonomy, its school population has grown by leaps and bounds. The "optimal" school enrollment foreseen for 1961 by the Director of Education in his January, 1957, report was almost reached during the school year 1958-1959, and it was exceeded by fifty per cent during the 1961-1962 school year. The following figures will show this rapid progression:

49. "Situation de l'Enseignement au 1er Janvier 1962," Annex I. Mimeographed report prepared by the "Inspection Académique" and presented by M. Prosper Grandzion, Minister of Education, Brazzaville (February, 1962).

TABLE 20
 REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)
 SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT^a
 1959-1962

	1959	1960	1961	1962
No. of Class-rooms	1,341	1,641	1,865	2,103
Enrollment	89,477	99,339	115,331	135,207
No. of Class-rooms	95	114	137	185
Enrollment	2,424	3,313	4,361	5,968
No. of Class-rooms	-	-	-	-
Enrollment	1,153	1,365	1,644	1,721

Table 21 still shows a rapid enrollment drop from the first to the sixth grade. This situation, however, cannot all be attributed to a. Combined figures, public and private schools. expanding at the base at a faster rate than population growth. The problem of primary school b. Including "lycées," "collèges normaux," "collèges d'enseignement général." schools over a whole cycle of studies.

The proportion of girls enrolled in primary schools is fairly high. In 1962, the percentage of school-age children in school was officially claimed to have reached 81%. However, this ratio means little unless the basis selected for its computation is clearly understood. The percentage of school-age children attending school in most African countries is only equal to an estimated percentage of an estimated total population. For the purpose of international comparison, UNESCO has selected 15 per cent of total population as a basis for computation. On this basis, 129,000 children in school would represent a 100 per cent school enrollment rate in the Congo (15 per cent of 860,000), that is, only 6,000 children less than the number actually enrolled! In fact, the official enrollment percentage (81 per cent) is obtained by multiplying an estimated population figure of 830,000 by 20 per cent, producing a school-age population of 166,000. Although this is most probably an underestimated total, it is a fair basis for comparison with other less educationally developed countries which may take advantage of the 15 per cent UNESCO basis. However, for the Congo, it does not give a realistic appraisal of the task to be accomplished.

50. A more accurate ratio can be computed thus: May 3-10, 1962

51. "Situation" op. cit.

The total population of the Congo, at the latest estimate,⁵⁰ stood at 860,000. Since the Congo has made school attendance compulsory between the ages of 6 and 16, the importance of this age group must be estimated. Demographic tables report figures for the 5 to 15 age group. This age group, in the Congo, is believed to make up as much as 25% of the total population. Taking the ratio 24% for the age group 6 to 16, one would obtain a school-age population of approximately 206,000 children. Compared to the 1962 school enrollment of 140,000 (135,000 plus an estimated 5000 in secondary schools 16 years old or younger), this figure would produce a school enrollment level of 68%. It should be noted that this conservative estimate still represents a very respectable level of accomplishment. It also allows for the fact that many Congolese children still begin school after six years of age, and often leave it before they reach 16 years of age. These facts will clearly appear in the more detailed statistics for the school year 1961-1962.

Préparatoire I 19,922 20,420 40,342 32
 (1) As of January 1, 1962, there were, in the Congo public school system, 269 primary schools totaling 962 classrooms; in the "assimilated" school system, 425 primary schools totaling 1,141 classrooms, for a combined total of 694 schools and 2,103 classrooms.⁵¹ Pupil distribution by system and by grade appear in Table 21.

Course Table 21 still shows a rapid enrollment drop from the first to the sixth grade. This situation, however, cannot all be attributed to a high rate of dropout. The school system is still expanding at the base at a faster rate than population growth. The problem of primary school losses in the Congo has not been studied on the basis of a representative sample of schools over a whole cycle of studies.

(Each Grade)
 The proportion of girls enrolled in primary schools is fairly high compared with that of other African countries. This is partly due to the large percentage of Congolese living in urban areas (about 30 per cent). Indeed, the over-all percentage (37%) conceals a variation of 12% (44% to 32%) in girls' enrollment between the Djoué prefecture (which includes Brazzaville) and the Alima prefecture (in difficult-of-access Northern Congo). The geographical isolation of some areas of the Congo and the lag in girls' enrollment are likely to keep the Congo away from its goal of universal education for many years to come.

Congolese post-primary education, often called "secondary" for euphemistic reasons, is in fact composed of three sections: 1) secondary (academic), 2) "cours complémentaires" or "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" and teacher-training, and 3) technical and vocational, in that order of prestige. The second section has had the greatest enrollment increase in recent years; the third, the least. Enrollment in each section is reported below.

50. Reported in "La Semaine Africaine," No. 505, May 3-10, 1962

51. "Situation . . . ," op. cit.

TABLE 22

SECONDARY EDUCATION TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY GRADES

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY GRADES

A) "Lycées" and "Collèges" (Long Cycle)

Grades	Public	Assimilated	Total	Percentage of Grade to Total
Cours Préparatoire I (1st Grade)	19,922	20,420	40,342	32
Cours Préparatoire II (2nd Grade)	11,574	15,735	27,309	22
Cours Élémentaire I (3rd Grade)	8,765	11,626	20,391	16
Cours Élémentaire II (4th Grade)	7,135	8,714	15,849	13
Cours Moyen I (5th Grade)	5,393	6,318	11,711	9
Cours Moyen II (6th Grade)	5,035	4,459	9,494	7
Totals	59,667 (35% Girls)	75,540 (38% Girls)	135,207 (37% Girls)	

Source: "Effectifs Scolaires--Enseignement Public" and "Effectifs Scolaires--Enseignement Assimilé"--Au 1er Janvier 1962. (Two mimeographed tables prepared by the "Inspection Académique.")

a. Totals are taken from the first-quoted report; they are based on a later count than the grade by grade report. Although the first year ("Primaire") is under increasing pressure from the growing number of primary school graduates, the drop here is largely due to elimination, that is, reorientation of weaker students toward other types of schools.

TABLE 22
SECONDARY EDUCATION IN CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)
DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY GRADES
JANUARY 1, 1962

A) "Lycées" and "Collèges Classiques et Modernes"^a
(Long Cycle)

Grades	Public Boys	Public Girls	Assimilated Boys	Assimilated Girls	Total	Percentage of Total
Sixième (1st year)	562	171	163	108	1004	35
Cinquième	321	82	130	93	626	22
Quatrième	177	72	112	55	416	15
Troisième	172	60	93	16	341	12
Seconde	136	38	27	2	203	7
Première	106	18	26	6	156	6
Terminales						3
Philo.	12	8	11	1	32	
Sc. Exp.	31	4	-	-	35	
Math.	13	2	-	-	15	
Total	1530	455	502	281	2828	100

a. The two "lycées" (public) are located in Brazzaville and in Pointe-Noire; the two Collèges Classiques et Modernes (Catholic, "assimilated") are both in Brazzaville: Collège Chaminade, for boys, and Collège Javouhey, for girls. (The three Catholic seminaries are not included.)

Source: Unpublished records of the schools concerned.

In this section, as well as in the primary schools, most of the students are enrolled in the two lower grades. Although the first year ("sixième") is under increasing pressure from the growing number of primary school graduates, the drop here is largely due to elimination, that is, reorientation of weaker students toward other types of schools,

and to a number of students permitted to repeat the first or the second year. The drop in enrollment from the "troisième" to the "seconde" is expected to disappear soon. As the number of successful candidates to the "B.E.P.C." examinations increases, many will be given the opportunity to enter the "long cycle" of studies which begins in the class of "seconde."

Girls make up only about 25 per cent of the enrollment in this type of secondary school. In fact, the percentage is much lower if one considers that European (mostly French) girls are included in the total. In the two "Lycées," only one girl out of three is Congolese. In all, the percentage of Congolese girls in this type of secondary school probably does not exceed 10 per cent. Among the boys, 20 per cent in the "Lycées" and 10 per cent in the Collège Chaminade are European.

The distribution of students among the four C.E.G. grades shows the biggest drop from the lower grades. This situation is easily explained by the fact that out of 29 centers only three public and four at five. SECONDARY EDUCATION IN CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE) DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY GRADES JANUARY 1, 1962 According to plans, this type of secondary schools was to be established in every subprefectural center, and have a 3,000. A more recent decision to extend this network to subprefectural center in the country rather suggests that some 10,000 students may be enrolled in this type of secondary schools by 1970.

Grades	Public ^a		Assimilated ^b		Total	Percentage of Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
Sixième (1st year)	900	136	281	123	1440	50
Cinquième	551	109	176	40	876	30
Quatrième	321	57	27	7	412	14
Troisième	129	22	28	8	187	6
Total	1901	324	512	178	2915	100

a. 18 centers.

b. 11 centers.

Source: Unpublished material, "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville.

The number of students preparing for the teaching profession is impossible to determine with precision. The total number of students in above sections "A" and "B" (5,743) is 225 short of the number reported by the Minister of Education (5,968). Part of the discrepancy may be attributed to a number of students enrolled in the various public and private "Sections Normales," that is, a fifth-year section attached to some C.E.G.'s: the normal schools of Dolisie and Mouyoundzi for the public school system; the teacher-training sections of Collèges Chaminate, Javouhey, and Makoua for the Catholic schools; N'Gouédi for the Protestant schools; and the intensive one-year course organized in Brazzaville to meet the present shortage of trained public school teachers. In addition, older students, and those who show little promise of successfully completing the "short cycle" and obtain a B.E.P.C., are often transferred to a special teacher-training course and become "moniteurs supérieurs" or simply "moniteurs."

The distribution of students among the four C.E.G. grades shows the biggest drop from the lower to the upper grades. This situation is easily explained by the fact that out of 29 centers only three public and four or five private centers offered the full four-year course during 1961-62. Six of the 18 public school centers, opened in October, 1961, offered only the lower grade; the rest offer two or three grades. According to plans,⁵² this type of secondary schools was to be established in every prefectural center and in two or three subprefectural centers, and have a 5,000-student enrollment by 1970. A more recent decision to extend this network to every subprefectural center in the country rather suggests that some 10,000 students may be enrolled in this type of secondary schools by 1970.

The situation is even more confused with regard to technical education. This type of education is offered through three kinds of structures: a "Collège Technique" (long cycle), the technical field equivalent to the "Lycées"; the "Centre d'Apprentissage" (short cycle), recently renamed "Collèges d'Enseignement Technique," the technical field equivalent to the "Collège d'Enseignement Général"; finally, the "Sections Manuelles," usually attached to primary or secondary schools. The first structure prepares its best students to the "Baccalauréat de l'Enseignement Technique" which opens the way to higher technical education and to mechanical engineering. Its commercial section prepares administrators and accountants, and delivers a "Brevet d'Enseignement Commercial." The second structure has a "terminal" character: it prepares students for positions in commerce and industry at the subprofessional level and delivers a "Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle" (C.A.P.). The third structure prepares clerks and

52. "Plan de Développement de l'Enseignement du Second Degré--Cours Complémentaires et Collèges Normaux, 1960-1970." (Typewritten document prepared by the "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville.)

craftsmen. In 1961-62, 31 schools comprising 84 classes were offering one type of technical education or another (68 classes in 23 schools for boys; 16 classes in eight schools for girls). But there was only one "Collège Technique" (Brazzaville), four "Centres d'Apprentissage" (one public, one Protestant, one Catholic [for girls], in Brazzaville, and one Catholic [for boys], in Pointe-Noire). The rest were "Sections Manuelles."

Reliable statistics regarding distribution by grades is not available. It is sufficient to report that, in 1961-62, 478 boys and 16 girls were enrolled in the "Collège Technique"; 635 boys and 110 girls in the "Centres d'Apprentissage," public and private; the rest, 432 boys and girls, were presumably distributed among the various "Sections Manuelles." In addition, a small but undetermined number of boys were being trained as craftsmen in the Brazzaville center for "Formation Professionnelle Accélérée" (Intensive Vocational Training) under the auspices of the Congolese Ministry of Labor.⁵³ In recent years, this center has been operating at a minimum level, since skilled workers in the building trades are in oversupply in the Congo.

One of the main features of the 1959 educational reform in France was the introduction of the "cycle d'observation." In accordance with this scheme, the programs of the two lower secondary grades ("sixième" and "cinquième") are to be almost identical in all types of secondary schools. During these two years, students are under close observation in order to determine what type of education is best suited to their ability and aspirations. This procedure is being adopted in a limited way in the Congo, but its effectiveness is doubtful. The operation of such a "cycle d'observation" requires the use of reliable testing instruments and cooperation of highly trained teachers and guidance specialists, all conditions almost nonexistent in the Congo.

Enrollment statistics concerning the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" are not given here for two reasons: 1) this institution is open to students from all four Equatorial African republics, and the exact number of Congolese students in each field of study is difficult to determine; 2) it is not under Congo Government nor Education Ministry control.

Finally, quantitative results of the various examinations held at the primary and secondary education levels will give an indication of the effectiveness of instruction in Congolese schools.

Qualitative studies of the educational system have not been systematically undertaken as yet. Educationists and sociologists have barely begun to explore this area of research. The necessary conceptual schemes and research tools are lacking. In this section, the writer attempts to report on his application of certain social science research

53. This center has operated in Brazzaville since 1950. It was very effective in training urgently needed skilled workers for the building boom of the early 1950's.

Due mainly to the scarcity of literature dealing with this aspect of Congolese culture and society, it was not possible--nor perhaps entirely desirable--to narrow and precise area of investigation. The questionnaires used have elicited responses which may be of interest not only to educationists but also to students of the rapidly changing sociological reality of Tropical Africa.

Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (C.E.P.)	7444	4269	57.4	7853	4900	62.4
Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle	715	286	40.0	942	432	45.9
Brevet Elémentaire (B.E.)	181	52	28.7	283	68	24.0
Probatoire (Baccalaureate, First Part)	-	72	-	228	103	44.8
Baccalauréat (Second Part)	-	43	-	107	64	59.8

Source: Information supplied by the Department of Examination, Congolese Ministry of Education, Brazzaville.

Qualitative Outcomes

The task of assessing the total impact of formal education on the beliefs, attitudes, and aspirations of Congolese youth cannot be realistically undertaken at present. Educationists and sociologists have barely begun to explore this area of research. The necessary conceptual schemes and research tools are lacking. In this section, the writer intends to report on his application of certain social science research techniques to this problem: questionnaires, sociometric tests, and sentence completion tests.

Due mainly to the scarcity of research literature dealing with this aspect of Congolese culture and society, it was not possible--nor perhaps entirely desirable at this time--to define a very narrow and precise area of investigation, to formulate very specific hypotheses, and to develop questionnaires aimed at the rigorous testing of these hypotheses. The questionnaires used have elicited responses which may be of interest not only to educationists but also to students of the rapidly changing sociological realities of Tropical Africa. For this reason, a fairly detailed report of the data gathered will be offered in the hope that other researchers may find them a valuable source of hypotheses. But only a preliminary analysis of the results will be attempted whenever the responses obtained are directly relevant to this study.

The data were gathered during the second half of the 1961-1962 school year. They are the results of three series of tests⁵⁴ given at three levels of the Congolese school system:

Tests I & II: at the level of the sixth grade ("Cours Moyen II"), that is, at the end of the primary school; and at the level of the tenth grade ("Classe de troisième"), that is, at the end of the first cycle of secondary studies.

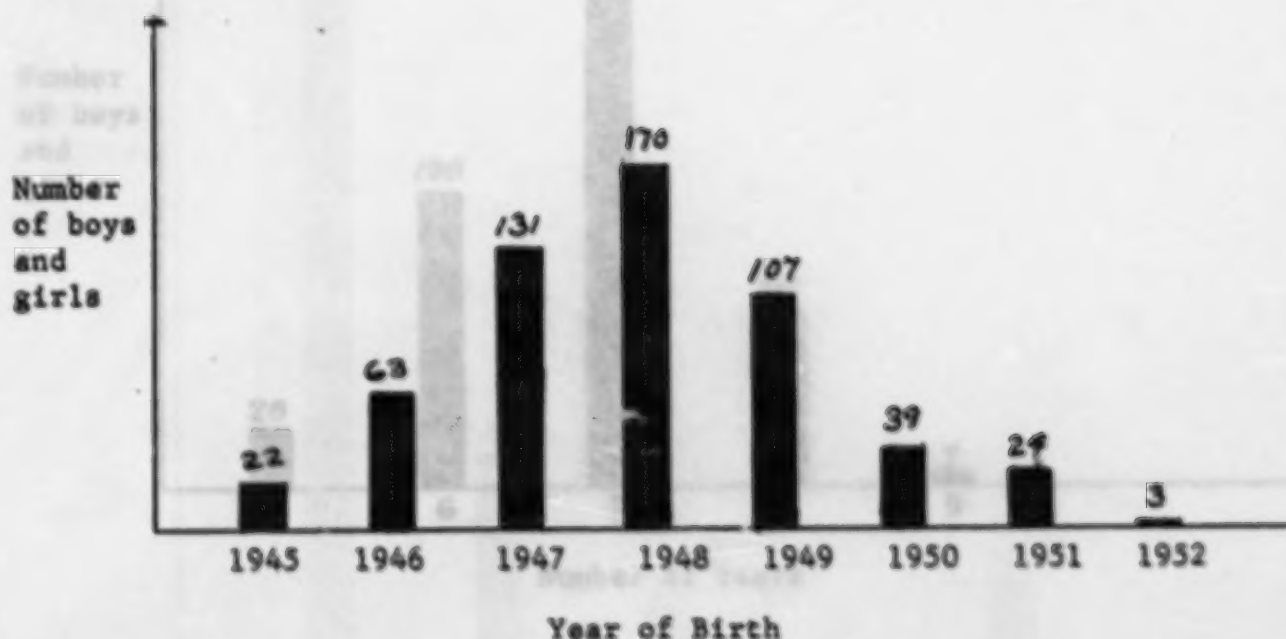
Test III: at approximately the twelfth grade level, that is, at the end of the second cycle of secondary studies and at the end of the professional training year of the teacher-training institutions.

All subjects were requested to fill in a "personal data sheet" (see Appendix VI). Tabulation of responses has revealed the following characteristics of the samples.

Tests I & II--Sixth Grade Level. A total of 13 classes were used in the sample, 8 in urban and 5 in rural environments; 9 were in public schools, 2 in Catholic schools, and 2 in Protestant schools.

The 581 subjects in the sample⁵⁵ (440 boys and 141 girls) showed the following characteristics:

54. The tests, as they were used, are to be found in Appendix VI.
55. Total Congolese sixth grade population during the school year 1961-1962 stood at 9,494 boys and girls. This sample therefore represents more than 6% of the sixth grade universe. However, no particular attempt was made to reproduce an accurate cross-section of Congolese sixth graders. Certain geographic areas are not represented due to limitations of time and transportation accessibility to this investigator. Rather, schools of various types (public, private, urban, rural, for boys only, mixed, ethnically homogeneous, ethnically mixed, etc.) were included, not necessarily in the same proportions as they exist throughout the Congo (Brazzaville). Nevertheless, this sample may represent a range of variations wide enough for the purposes of this investigation.

1) Age Distribution

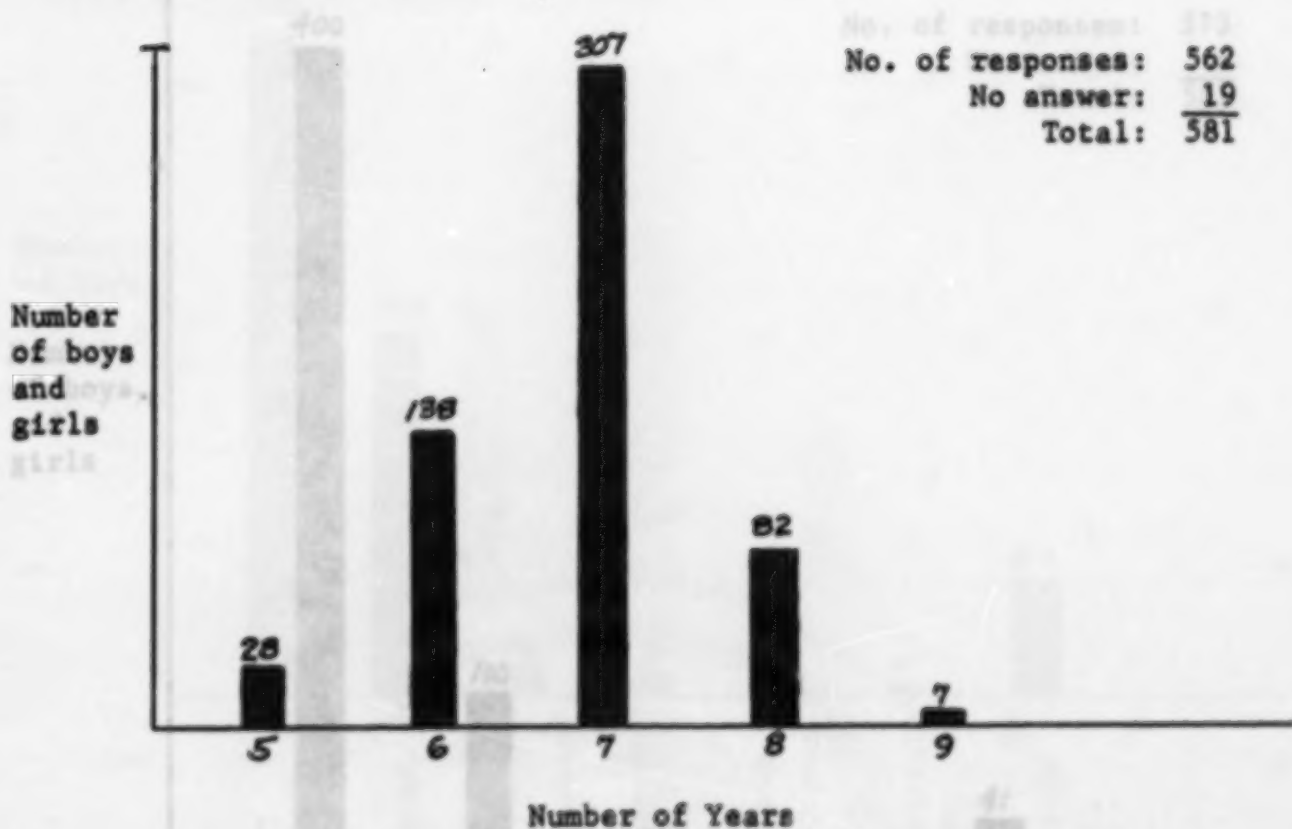
NOTE: Less than 10 per cent of the subjects reached the end of the

NOTE: The subjects were asked to write down the year of their birth instead of their age, a common practice in the Congo, in the hope of getting a quick and accurate answer. However, many answers were given as "about 19__." It is probable that errors would tend to lie on the side of underestimation: most Congolese pupils would tend to lower their age in order to qualify for entrance in academic secondary schools.

per cent complete primary school in 7 years or less, but only 31 per cent are aged 13 or less at the end of their primary studies. This points to a large number of late starters, a situation which has certainly improved since this group reached school age. Current practice is to give every six-year old child who applies and cannot be admitted in overcrowded schools a certificate which will guarantee his admission the following year.

3) Ethnic Composition

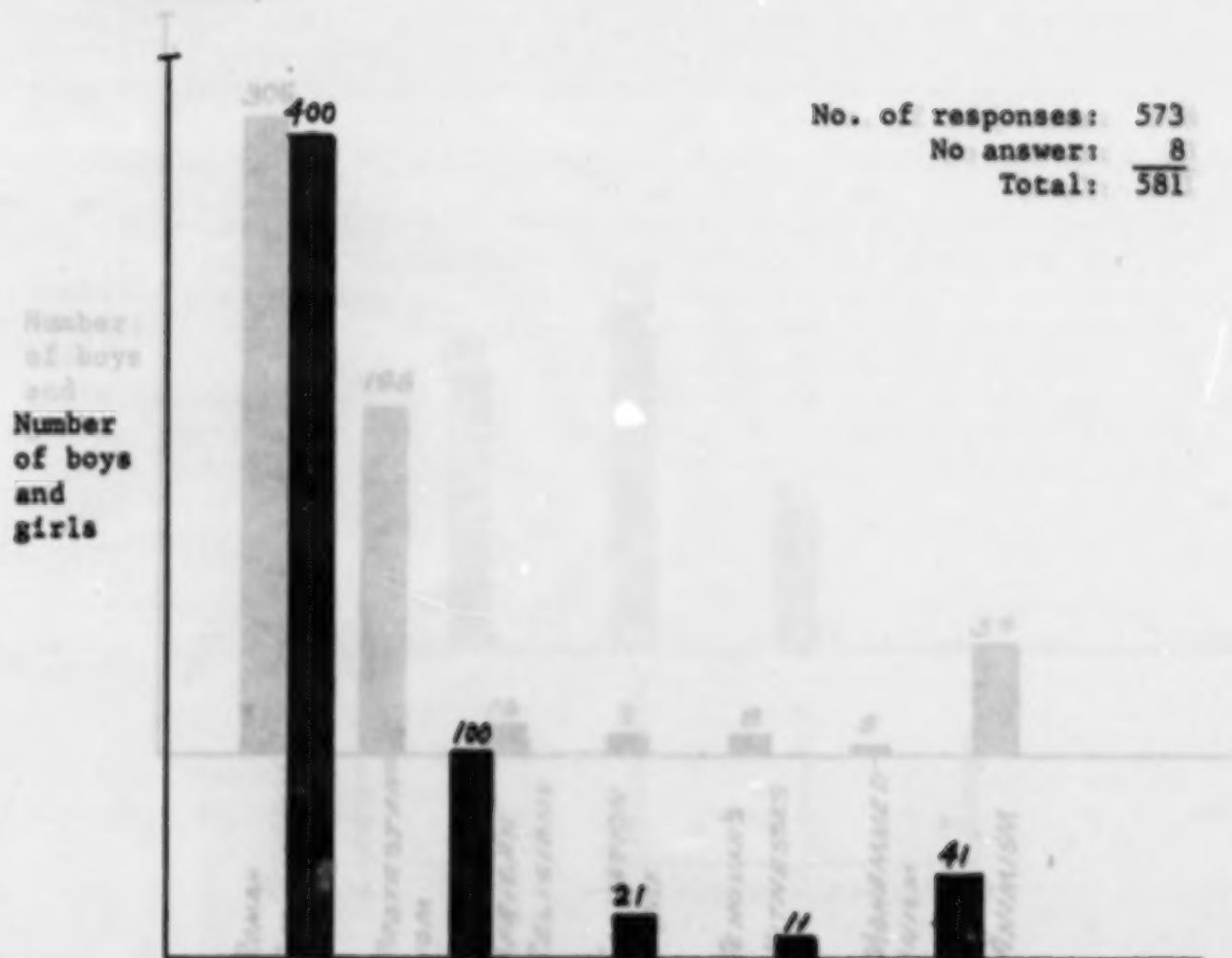
2) Years in School Attendance ("Normal" duration of Course: 6 years)



NOTE: Less than 30 per cent of the subjects reached the end of the six-year primary course in six years or less. If most of the 41 Europeans are excluded from this group, the proportion drops to less than 25 per cent. Therefore, 3 Congolese pupils out of 4 repeat one year or more while in primary schools. However, a comparison of these figures with "Age Distribution" indicates that this is not the only reason for the relatively advanced age of the six-grades' population: 84 per cent complete primary school in 7 years or less, but only 31 per cent are aged 13 or less at the end of their primary studies. This points to a large number of late starters, a situation which has certainly improved since this group reached school age. Current practice is to give every six-year old child who applies and cannot be admitted in overcrowded schools a certificate which will guarantee his admission the following year.

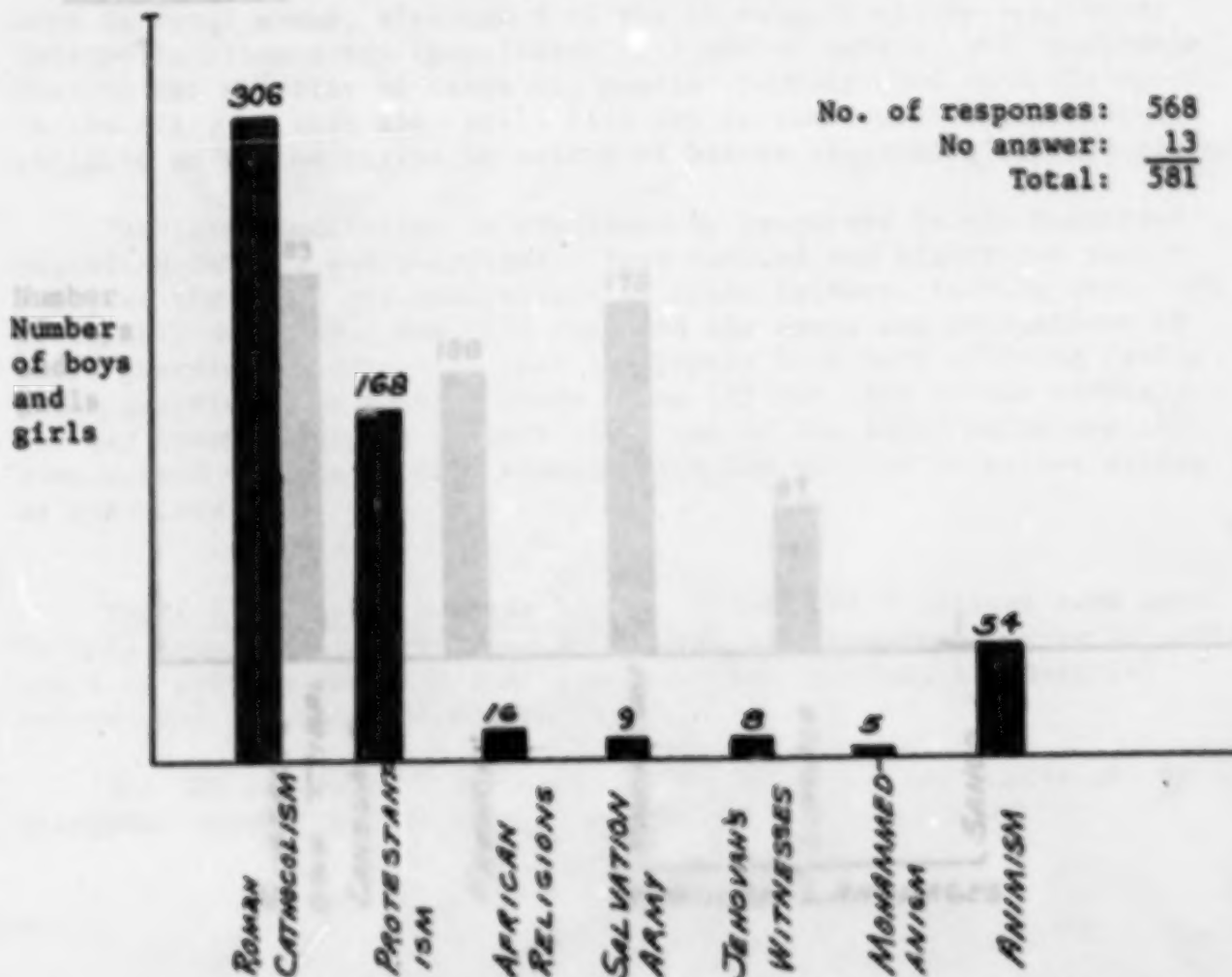
NOTE: and Pointe-Noire. The category "Non-Congolese" includes all Africans born outside the Republic of Congo. The category "Europeans" includes mostly French children attending the "Ecole du Stade" located in the administrative section of Brazzaville.

3) Ethnic Composition



NOTE: The religious groups listed here correspond to those listed in the "personal data sheet." The procedure was adopted in the hope that the subjects would indicate their true religious affiliations. It is possible that some of the subjects belong to Christian religions. In spite of these precautions, the data should be interpreted with doubt as to their accuracy. For instance, full-fledged members of Christian religions are not differentiated from catechumens.

NOTE: The Congolese subjects (91 per cent of the sample) have been classified into the three main groups discussed earlier, using the classification adopted by Murdock. In fact, over forty different tribes are represented in the sample. The Central Bantu are overrepresented since they occupy the easily accessible areas of the country between Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire. The category "Non-Congolese" includes all Africans born outside the Republic of Congo. The category "Europeans" includes mostly French children attending the "Ecole du Stade" located in the administrative section of Brazzaville.

4) Religious Affiliations5) Language Spoken Most Often Outside the Classroom

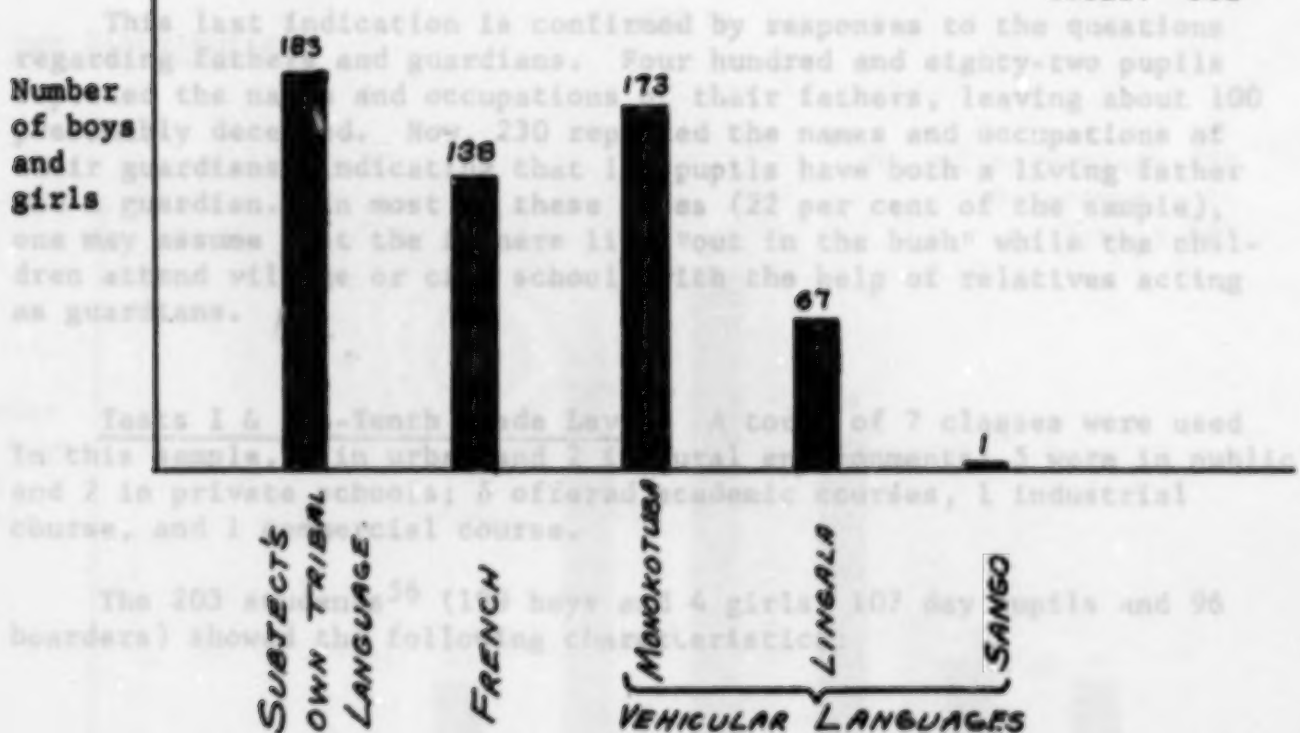
NOTE: The religious groups listed here correspond to those listed in the "personal data sheet." This procedure was adopted in the hope that the subjects would find it easier to indicate their true religious affiliations, particularly if they happened to belong to a nativistic (African) religious movement. In spite of these precautions, the data should be interpreted with doubt as to their accuracy. For instance, full-fledged members of Christian religions are not differentiated from catechemens. Furthermore, the category "animism" did not appear in the questionnaire under this name, but rather as "non-baptized" which is the term generally used in the Congo to designate those who do not belong to any formal religion. The term "paganism" has undesirable overtones, and the term "animism" would not have been understood by most sixth graders. It should be noted that not a single "Matswanist" affiliation was claimed, although this political-religious movement had thousands of adherents in the Congo before 1956.

6) Other Characteristics

5) Language Spoken Most Often Outside the Classroom

34.2 per cent (303 subjects) of the pupils were born in rural areas, although 8 of the 13 schools of the sample are located in urban areas (population of 5,000 or more). This indicates that in the majority of cases the pupils' parents have recently moved to the city, or that they still live out in the bush, and their children go to the cities in search of better education.

No. of responses: 562
No answer: 19
Total: 581



NOTE: Although close to one-third of the subjects claimed that they spoke their own tribal tongue most often outside the classroom, almost 10 per cent indicated that they did not know their tribal tongue. French is spoken in class by all sixth graders, but only 25 per cent of them used French most often outside the classroom. The remainder used mostly two of the three "vehicular" or "trade" languages which have developed in the area. These serve as "lingua franca" (Monokotuba, from Pointe-Noire to Brazzaville; Lingala, from Brazzaville to the northern part of the Congo; and Sango, in the Bangui area). They are not tribal tongues, although their limited vocabulary and simplified syntax are borrowed from tribal tongues spoken in their respective areas. The frequency with which the subjects used these "vehicular" languages indicated the extent of their inter-tribal relationships.

Hence, this sample includes more than 50 per cent of the universe.

6) Other Characteristics

Place of Birth: 54.2 per cent (305 subjects) of the pupils were born in rural areas, although 8 of the 13 schools of the sample are located in urban areas (population of 5,000 or more). This indicates that in the majority of cases the pupils' parents have recently moved to the city, or that they still live out in the country while their children go to the cities in search of better educational opportunities.

This last indication is confirmed by responses to the questions regarding fathers and guardians. Four hundred and eighty-two pupils reported the names and occupations of their fathers, leaving about 100 presumably deceased. Now, 230 reported the names and occupations of their guardians, indicating that 130 pupils have both a living father and a guardian. In most of these cases (22 per cent of the sample), one may assume that the fathers live "out in the bush" while the children attend village or city schools with the help of relatives acting as guardians.

Tests I & II--Tenth Grade Level. A total of 7 classes were used in this sample, 5 in urban and 2 in rural environments; 5 were in public and 2 in private schools; 5 offered academic courses, 1 industrial course, and 1 commercial course.

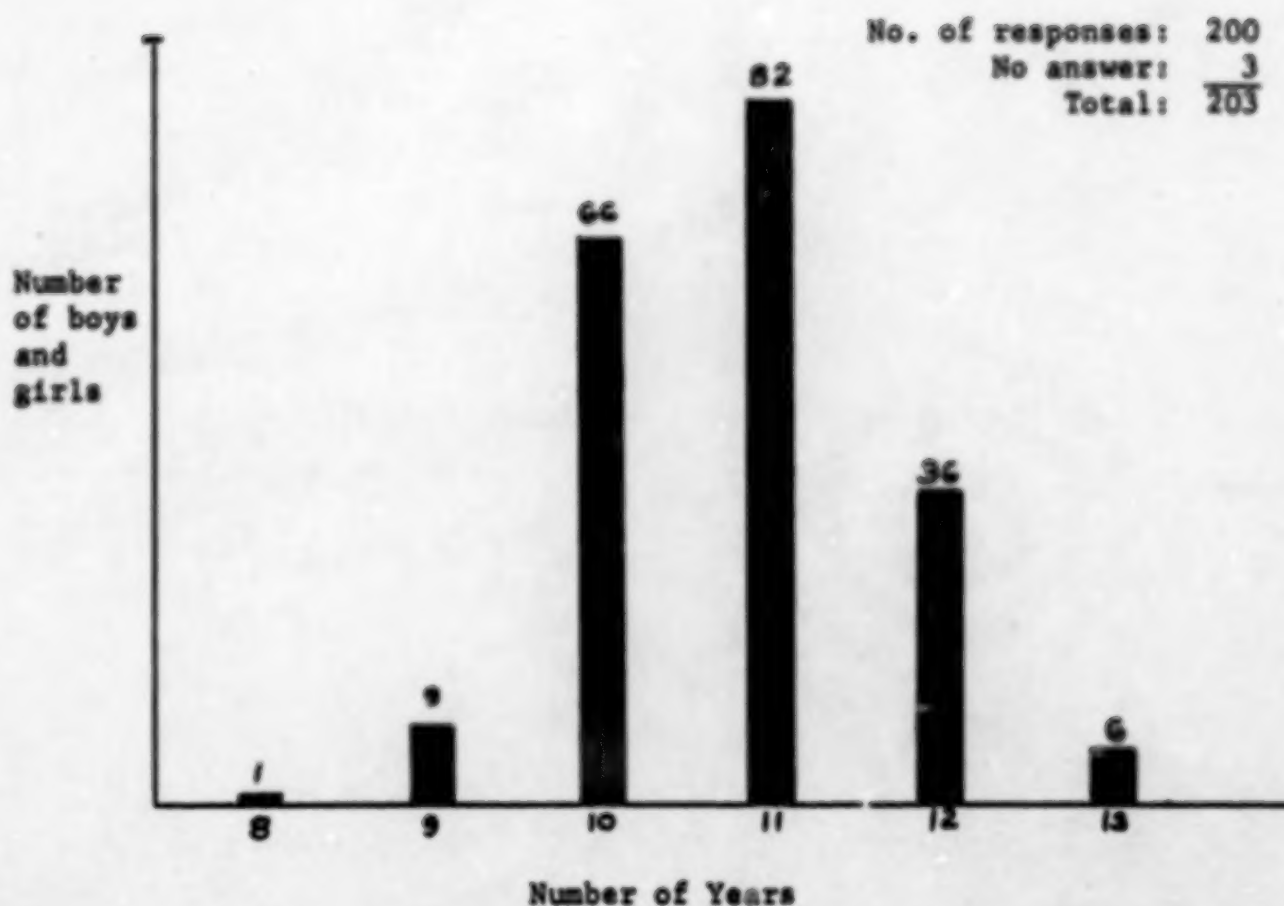
The 203 students⁵⁶ (199 boys and 4 girls; 107 day pupils and 96 boarders) showed the following characteristics:

56. The total tenth grade enrollment in the Congo-Brazzaville during the academic year 1961-62 was 617, including the "lycées," but excluding the teacher-training schools. If the 232 tenth graders enrolled in the two academic "lycées" are also excluded, a total of 385 remains for the type of schools represented in the sample. Hence, this sample includes more than 50 per cent of the universe.

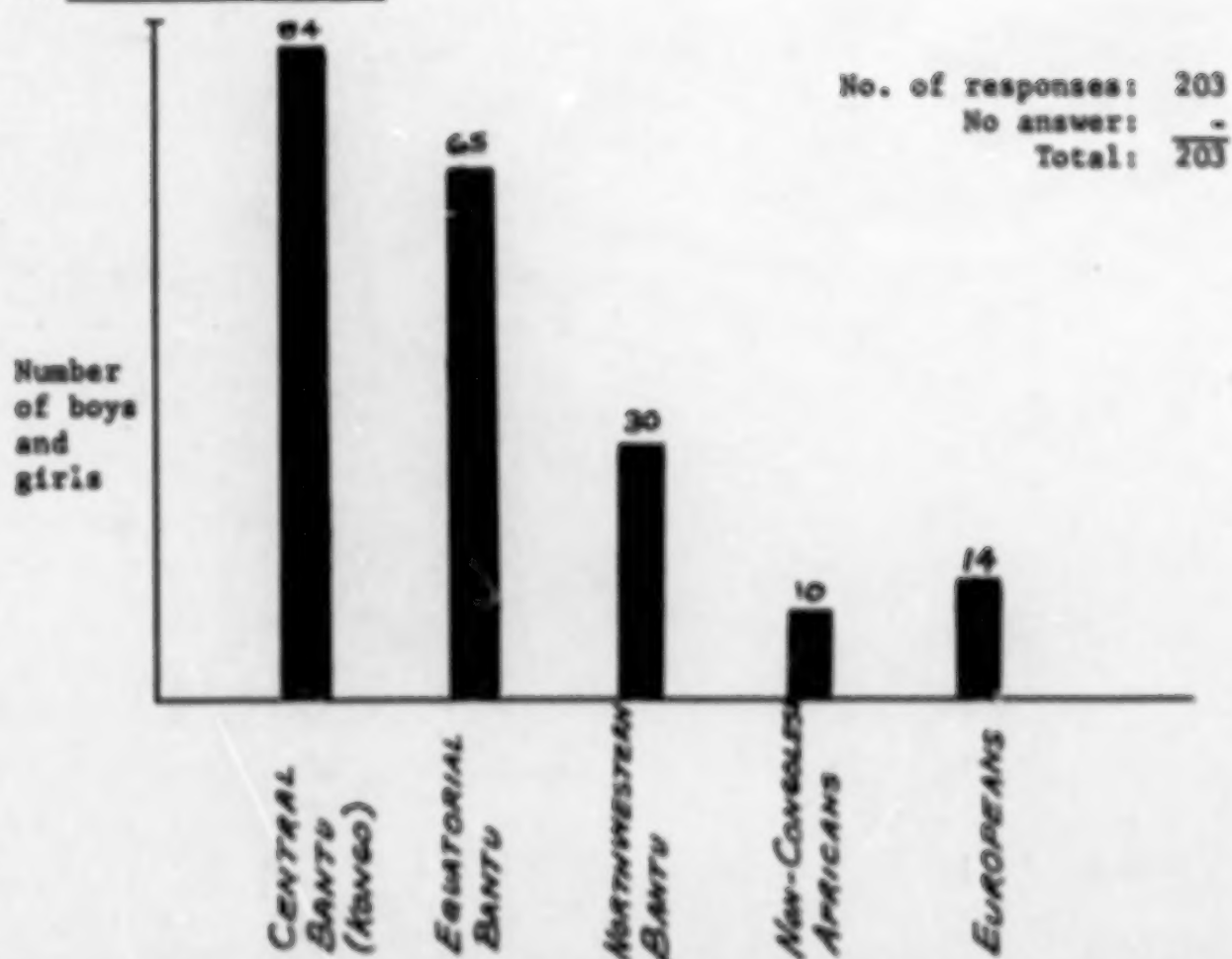
1) Age Distribution

NOTE: Age variation, as could be expected, is much wider at this level. Most of these students were born during or shortly after the Second World War, at a time when less pressure was exerted on children to start school early. Only 13 students (7.1 per cent) reached the end of this ten-year course of studies before they reached age 17, and several among the 14 Europeans tested are included in this group.

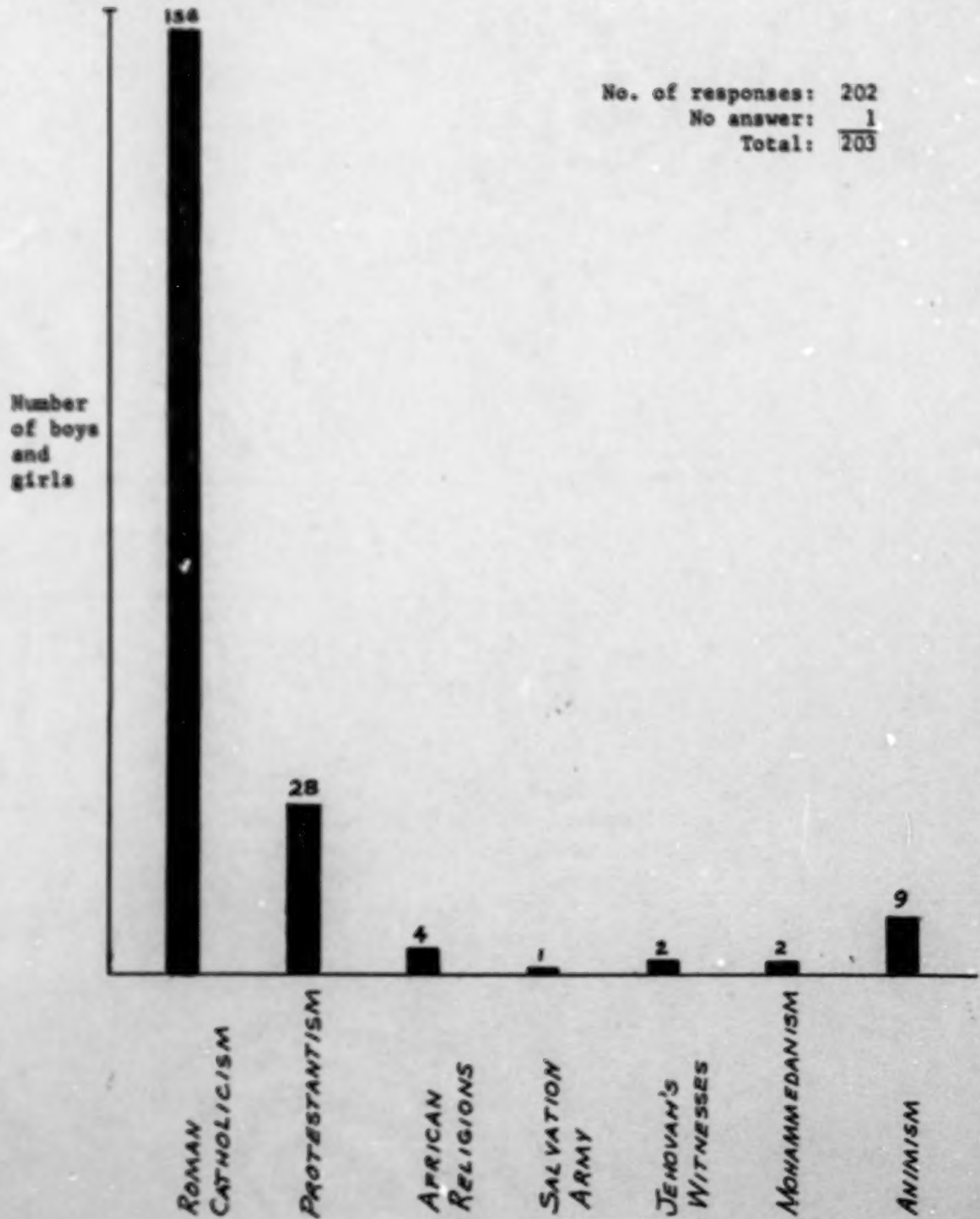
2) Years in School Attendance ("Normal"
duration of Course: 10 years)



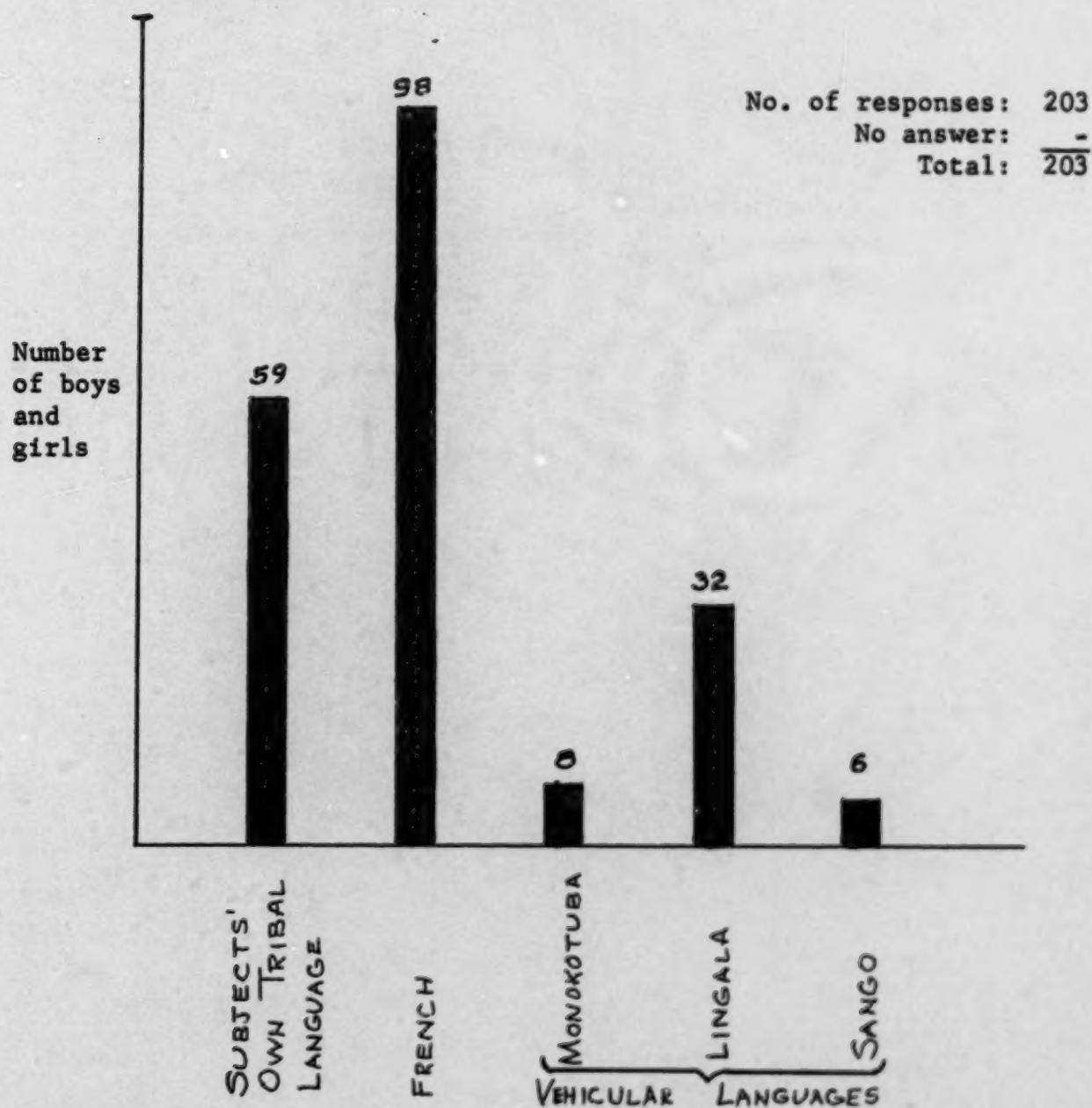
NOTE: Although the bulk of the tenth graders sampled (almost 80 per cent) were between 18 and 20 years of age, a glance at the above chart shows that more than 90 per cent of the sample attended school from ten to twelve years. Therefore the repeaters among them are much fewer than in the sixth grade sample. This is to be expected since the selective processes have had more opportunities to operate, particularly at the time of the secondary school entrance examinations.

3) Ethnic Composition

NOTE: The three main Bantu groups are represented in the sample in nearly the same proportions as in the Congo population as a whole (see, for instance, the 41.4 per cent for the Central Bantu group). Although the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" are being established throughout the country, few of them can already offer a full four-year course. Students in the samples classes are consequently drawn from all parts of the Congo.

4) Religious Affiliations

5) Language Spoken Most Often Outside
the Classroom



NOTE: The mixture of ethnic groups in schools partly explains the students' knowledge and relatively frequent use of "vehicular" languages. However, at this level, the French language is reportedly spoken most often by almost half of the students, almost as often as all tribal and "vehicular" languages put together. This should indicate a higher degree of French acculturation at this school level.

6) Other Characteristics

Place of Birth: These tenth graders were born before 1948, that is, before the post-war economic development could launch the population movement toward the cities. This explains the relatively high percentage of students (77%) born in rural areas. Besides, two of the classes sampled (Fort-Rousset and Makua) are located in rural centers which draw students from surrounding rural primary schools.

One hundred and forty reported their father's occupation, and one hundred and nine also reported their guardian's occupation.

Responses to Test I--Sixth Grade Level. Test I was designed to gather information regarding the occupational aspirations of the Congolese school children.

Question No. 1 (Test I-A): "Indicate three (3) trades or professions in which you would like to engage once your studies are completed. (Write in the first blank space the one which attracts you most, in the second blank, your second choice, etc.)"

This is a free choice question which could be made on the basis of aspirations and/or opportunity. It did not have to be realistic, that is, the subjects were not instructed to make a choice as consistent as possible with their capabilities and with the educational and occupational opportunities available in the Congo. In order to test the hypothesis that such a free choice might result in the sixth graders selecting from a narrow range of occupations, Form I-B⁵⁷ was developed and administered to one-half of the class in three schools, while the other half was given Form I-A. Form I-B listed 39 occupations commonly known in the Congo. The subjects were requested to cross off the names of all listed occupations but five, then to list these remaining five in the order of the subjects' preference.⁵⁸ But the responses of the very first group showed that this technique did not appreciably extend the range of occupational choices while it tended to restrict the subjects' spontaneity of choice. For instance, in the first group where this technique was applied:

1) Ten occupations included in list I-B were not mentioned by those who took Form I-A. These 10 occupations were mentioned 29 times

57. A similar technique was used by Gérard Althabe in his study of the young unemployed "school leavers" in Brazzaville. The results he obtained will be discussed further in this section.

58. See Form I-B in Appendix VI.

by I-B subjects, but only 11 times were they the object of a first, second, or third choice.

2) Seventeen out of the 39 listed occupations were not selected at all (example: blacksmith, store clerk, tailor, lawyer, farmer, etc.).

TABLE 25

3) Those taking Form I-A selected four occupations not listed in Form I-B: professor, sailor, midwife, and "gendarme."

TEST I--QUESTION 1

This experiment was repeated with similar results in an urban school and in a rural school. Form I-B was then abandoned. However, data obtained through Form I-B are included in the following tables.

The writer's choice of occupational categories is, to a certain extent, arbitrary. It is therefore necessary to give further details as to what subcategories were included in each of the seven or eight categories listed in Tables 25 and 26.

Services 138 34.50 29 17.5
1. Teaching. Occupations classified under this heading include "professeur" (in an academic or technical "lycée," or in a "collège d'enseignement général"), "instituteur" or director of a primary school, and school inspector. 14.5

3. Teaching 71 17.75 76 43.8
2. Health Services. Occupations: doctor of medicine, nurse (male and female), midwife, and pharmacist.

Administration 33 8.75 14 8.6
3. Technical and Scientific. Occupations: engineer (civil, mechanical, railroad, etc.), electrician and radio repairman, auto-mechanics and machine shop worker, and the building trades (mason, carpenter, etc.).

6. Agriculture 7 1.75 5 3.0
4. Public Administration. Included in this category are occupations commonly connected with public administration, from "Préfet" down to office clerk. Post office, telephone and telegraph employees are also included. 26 6.50 7 4.2

5. Armed Services. These include army, navy, air force, "gendarmérie," and police. They also include merchant sailors, commercial airline pilots, and air hostesses.

Prof 6. Agriculture. Agricultural engineer and "moniteur" are added to the "farmer" subcategory.

Of the 342 subjects who stated their preference, 160 wished to work in an
7. Business. Traders, managers, and salesmen are classified under this heading. Office work, unless it is explicitly connected with business operations, is classified under "clerical," in the Public Administration category.

TABLE 26

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF CONGOLESE STUDENTS

TEST TABLE 25 QUESTION 1

TENTH GRADE LEVEL

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF CONGOLESE STUDENTS

TEST I--QUESTION 1

SIXTH GRADE LEVEL

Occupations	First Choice	Choice	Choice	Total	Percentage
Occupations (First Choice)	Urban Schools	Percentage	Rural Schools	Percentage	
1. Health Services	138	34.50	29	17.5	
2. Technical and Scientific	91	22.75	24	14.5	
3. Teaching	71	17.75	76	45.8	
4. Public Administration	35	8.75	14	8.4	
5. Armed Services	32	8.00	11	6.6	
6. Agriculture	7	1.75	5	3.0	
7. Business	0	-	0	-	
8. Others	26	6.50	7	4.2	
Total	400	100.00	166	100.0	

Preferred Location

Of the 542 subjects who stated their preference, 460 wished to work in an urban environment, and 82 in a rural environment.

8. Others. Occupations which are not easily classified under any one of the preceding, or which were selected too rarely to justify classification into a separate category, are all grouped in this section. They are: arts (painting, sculpture, crafts (traditional or modern), law,³⁹ priesthood. A few chauffeurs, station masters, housewives and matrons are also included.

TABLE 26
OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF CONGOLESE STUDENTS
TEST I--QUESTION 1
TENTH GRADE LEVEL

The occupational categories are listed in order of students' preferences as indicated by the total number of times a particular category of occupation was chosen. Actually, the rank a category occupies on the basis of total number of choices corresponds to the rank it occupies on the basis of first choice. This holds true with only one exception: at the tenth grade level, the category "Technical and Scientific" holds place, after "Health Services," on the basis of first choice. This suggests that, in this kind of investigation, a single choice might prove sufficient to represent a student's occupational interests.

Occupations	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice	Total	Percentage
1. Teaching	65	27	35	127	21.8
2. Technical and Scientific	34	40	36	110	18.8
3. Health Services	48	39	20	107	18.4
4. Public Administration	18	40	33	91	15.8
5. Armed Services	10	16	24	51	8.7
6. Law	5	13	15	33	5.6
7. Agriculture	8	3	10	21	3.6
8. Business	4	6	6	16	2.7
9. Others	9	12	8	29	4.6
Total	201	197	187	585	100.0

Preferred Location

Of the 192 subjects who stated their preference, 131 wished to work in an urban environment, and 61 in a rural environment. The sixth grade level. Frequency at the tenth grade level is slightly different, as the following table shows.

39. At the tenth grade level, Law is listed as a separate category.

8. Others. Occupations which are not easily classified under any one of the preceding, or which were selected too rarely to justify classification into a separate category, are all grouped in this section. They are: arts (painting, sculpture), crafts (traditional or modern), law,⁵⁹ priesthood. A few chauffeurs, station masters, housewives and matrons are also included.

The occupational categories have been listed in order of students' preference--as indicated by the total number of times a particular category of occupation was chosen. Actually, the rank a category occupies on the basis of total number of choices happens to correspond to the rank it would occupy if only the "first choice" were considered. In the two preceding tables, this holds true with only one exception: at the tenth grade level, the category "Technical and Scientific" holds second place according to total number of choices (110), but third place, after "Health Services," on the basis of first choice. This observation suggests that, in this kind of investigation, a single occupational choice might prove sufficiently representative of the students' occupational interests.

Most trades or professions selected by the Congolese students can be performed within the framework of the Congolese "Fonction Publique." Teachers, doctors, and health officers are all civil servants. Even technicians and agriculturalists are usually employed by the Ministry of Public Works and by the Ministry of Agriculture. Those interested in law intended to work in connection with the administration of justice, as magistrates or court clerks, rarely as independent attorneys. If one also adds the Armed Services and work connected with state-owned airlines, only the "Business" category remains outside the framework of the civil service. On the other hand, many of the bookkeepers and office clerks classified in the "Civil Service" category will undoubtedly be absorbed by private business.

6. Travel opportunities (studies)

Question No. 2: "In a short paragraph motivate your first choice (example: 'I would like to be _____ because . . .')." 8.9

7. Attraction of work (security, leisure, etc.)

Responses to this question would deserve careful content analysis. But in this study, only a rapid discussion of the main motives guiding the Congolese students' choice of an occupation will be presented, although such elicited responses may not accurately reveal the "true" motives behind the students' occupational aspirations. The responses are offered here as given by the students, grouped into eleven categories of motives and arranged in order of frequency at the sixth grade level. Frequency at the tenth grade level is slightly different, as the following table shows.

59. At the tenth grade level, Law is listed as a separate category.

TABLE 27

Students could and often did have more than one motive. Furthermore, the categories selected by the writer sometimes overlap. For instance, OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF CONGOLESE STUDENTS become possible primarily because the TEST I--QUESTION NUMBER 2 high monetary returns. Also, the MOTIVES FOR OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES in this cultural setting, be related in unexpected ways. The following quotations from the students' responses may clarify the way in which the analysis of responses was conducted.

Categories of Motives		6th Grade Level		10th Grade Level	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1. Social service					
To: a) kinship, tribal groups (1-a) and friends help my parents in 91 of 108 students 10 3.0					
b) the nation or humanity 212 of 25.0 (4) 90 26.7					
Total 303 35.8 100 29.7					
2. Intrinsic interest in knowledge + accomplishment connected with chosen occupation					
170 20.1 74 22.2					
3. Economic advantage					
For: a) the subjects and their families 113 13.4 16 4.7					
b) the country 20 2.4 41 12.2					
Total 133 15.8 57 16.9					
4. Prestige attached to the position or to the performer					
69 8.1 16 4.8					
5. "Romantic" attraction					
43 5.1 15 4.5					
6. Travel opportunities (studies abroad)					
36 4.3 30 8.9					
7. Attraction of work conditions (security, leisure, etc.)					
34 4.0 19 5.6					
8. Parents' wishes					
32 3.7 6 1.8					
9. Imitating parents					
19 2.2 9 2.6					
10. Ability					
- - 10 3.0					
11. "Revenge"					
8 .9 - -					
Total					
847 100.0 336 100.0					

Students could and often did mention more than one motive. Furthermore, the categories selected by the writer sometimes overlap. For instance, "helping relatives," a social service, may become possible primarily because the selected occupation produces high monetary returns. Also, the categories "romantic attraction" and "prestige" may, in this cultural setting, be related in unsuspected ways. The following quotations from the students' responses may clarify the way in which the analysis of responses was conducted. (Numbers and letters in parentheses refer to relevant categories in Table 27.)

A girl who chose to become a teacher or a nurse wrote:

I shall teach the pupils (1-b) and even my little brothers (1-a). I shall help my parents in case of accidents and I shall earn my bread (3-a). I shall be proud of my job (4). It will be my turn to give back the blows which I received at school (11).

A student who has chosen to work as an electrician writes:

I shall have the courage to take electric motors apart and I shall no longer be afraid of the electric current (2). I shall install electricity in the homes or in the streets and my work will last for a long time (3-b).

One who wished to become a "bureaucrat" declared:

I like that job very much (2) and one earns a lot of money (3-a), and because this position offers advantages to those who are coming after us, to our younger brothers (1-a).

Easily classified among the "romantic" motives is this statement by one who has chosen to become a pilot:

I would like to ride in space like the American or the Russian cosmonauts, for example, Gagarine and John Glenn.

But more difficult to classify is this statement by a sixth grader who wished to become a chauffeur:

I will ride in a taxi. I will take customers everywhere. I will be known by many customers (4). I will wait for customers at the Customs Office. All the places I wanted to see on foot I will see in a taxi (5).

This future teacher declared:

I would like to be a teacher because people keep bringing children into the world and children will always come to school. Thus I shall never be out of work (7). Now a tailor, if he runs out of customers, will run out of money.

In this statement, "intrinsic interest" and even "social service" are clearly demonstrated:

I would like to know the causes of illnesses in general (2), and how to cure them, in order to destroy in myself and in my environment this kind of paganism in which we are immersed, fetishism, belief in sorcerers (1-b).

But in this one, "intrinsic interest," "social service," and "economic advantages" are inextricably involved:

I would like to be a "Préfet" because I wish to organize my prefecture well (2) and to make it rich (3-a), and also to change the culture ("faire évoluer") of the people who are not yet well civilized (1-b).

It is often stated that the young educated Africans' sole interest in education stems from the fact that it is the best road to personal economic and social advancement. Table 27 shows that social service motivation and interest in knowledge per se may play a larger role than suspected in determining the students' choice of an occupation. The responses just analyzed strongly suggest that most Congolese students are acutely aware that they are indebted to their family and to their country for the education that they have received, and they show a deep desire to repay their debt. Indeed, most other motives such as monetary gains, prestige, job security, etc., seem to matter only to the extent that they are means of rendering more and better services to the community. The immediate objection to this interpretation is the fact that the truthfulness of such elicited responses is easily challenged: the subjects would tend to give the response which they believe is expected of them. This is a valid objection. But the fact that the subjects did declare such altruistic motives is an indication of the hierarchy of values which they hold as a result of the education they have received in the homes and in the schools. Departures from this motivational pattern, for instance, the "revenge" motive (mentioned mostly by girls), show the candor of the responses and tend to support the writer's interpretation.

Question No. 3: "In what place (name of city, village, or rural district) would you like to perform your chosen profession?"

Responses to this question were divided into two groups: 1) those who wished to work in an urban environment, and 2) those who wished to work in a rural environment. An urban environment was defined as one in which 5,000 or more people lived. In the Congo, this means Brazzaville, Pointe-Noire, Dolisie, and Jacob. A large village such as Fort-Rousset (prefectural headquarters in the north of the country) was classified as a rural environment, even if it offers certain urban amenities.

Results appear at the bottom of Tables 25 and 26. Subjects were verbally instructed to decide on a location with respect to their first choice occupation only. Consequently, the sum of urban and rural responses cannot exceed the number of first choices made in any category of occupation.

Question No. 4: "What studies or what apprenticeship do you intend to undertake in order to fulfill your occupational ambitions?"

This question was included in the questionnaire in the hope that it might provide an opportunity to test the earnestness of the subjects' first choice of an occupation. It was assumed that if a subject had seriously considered embracing a certain profession he (or she) would also have worked out in some detail the steps most likely to lead to the fulfillment of the subject's occupational goals. In this respect, the responses to Question No. 4 were rather disappointing. If the subjects were aware of this means-to-end relationship, they generally failed to demonstrate their awareness. At both the sixth and the tenth grade levels, one subject out of five neglected to answer the question or simply wrote: "I don't know." Of those who gave a positive answer, an overwhelming majority stated that they wished to pursue their studies:

At the Sixth Grade Level:

a) Further studies	394 (82%)
b) Apprenticeship	86 (18%)
Total	480 responses

At the Tenth Grade Level:

a) Further studies	146 (90%)
b) Apprenticeship	16 (10%)
Total	162 responses

The option "Apprenticeship" meant that the subjects intended to submit to some form of on-the-job training as opposed to "Further Studies" which require admission to a school or to a formal course of studies. Of course, the choice between these two options is largely determined by the level of general education and of professional training which the selected occupation requires. Most of the Congolese students' occupational choices do require studies and training at a level higher than the sixth or the tenth grades. What the subjects failed to reveal, on the whole, is specific information regarding the courses of studies which they intended to follow.

The obvious explanation for this failure is that the subjects simply lacked the necessary information. If so, the failure might be their teachers' rather than theirs. However, in reviewing the responses to Question No. 4, one gathers the impression that, as far as the Congolese students are concerned, this matter of occupational guidance is academic, even somewhat irrelevant. They seem to take for granted that

all a student has to do is to pass examinations, to step over a number of academic hurdles in order to stay in the race: these hurdles occupy strategic positions along a marked course which automatically leads to professional competence.

3. By what pupils do you believe you have been chosen?⁶³

Responses to Test II. Test II was designed primarily in order to find out to what extent ethnic and religious differences affect the Congolese school children's choice of companions for work and play. Indirectly, the results of this test could give some indications of the contribution formal education is making toward the goal of national unity. Name the pupil (1 only) with whom you would most like to go

for an outing.⁶⁴

The sociometric technique used is the one developed by J. L. Moreno and Helen Hall Jennings and described by the latter.⁶⁰ It has been applied widely in industrialized countries. In the Congo, the technique was previously applied on a limited sample (42 pupils) by a French researcher.⁶¹ The questions used by the writer and translated below are similar to those used by Hauser. They possess the main characteristics described by Jennings, namely, 1) a specific number of choices allowed (in this case, three), 2) a specific criterion for choice (in this case, cooperation in school work), 3) different levels of preference designated for each choice.

to Test II. Nine of these classes are sixth grades (three urban and six rural) and six are tenth grades (four urban and two rural). These graphic representations immediately reveal some aspects of the social structure of Congolese classrooms. The patterns of social attraction, leadership, and rejection which emerge suggest the following generalizations:

TEST II

Work Teams

1. Write the names (in the order indicated below) of three (3) pupils of your class with whom you would like to form a work team.⁶²

First Choice _____

Second Choice _____

Third Choice _____

60. Helen Hall Jennings, Sociometry in Group Relations (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948). Discussed by Goode and Watt in Methods in Social Research, pp. 249-255.

61. A. Hauser, "Compte-rendu provisoire de recherches sociométriques," (December 1950-January 1951). Unpublished report available at the Institut de Recherches Scientifiques au Congo, Brassaville.

62. Subjects were verbally instructed that "work" meant "school work."

2. Write the name of the leader of this team; if it is you, say so.

Team leader:

3. By what pupils do you believe you have been chosen?⁶³

4. What pupils would you rather not have in your work team?

5. Name the pupil (1 only) with whom you would most like to go for an outing.⁶⁴

This test was given to the same sample as Test I. Some general observations will be given concerning the analyses of this test's responses.

A sociometric matrix was prepared for each of fifteen classes on the basis of responses to Test II. Nine of these classes are sixth grades (three urban and six rural) and six are tenth grades (four urban and two rural). These graphic representations immediately reveal some aspects of the social structure of a sample of Congolese classrooms. The patterns of social attraction, leadership, and rejection which emerge suggest the following tentative generalizations:

1. Mixed (boys and girls) classes are neatly divided into two social groups on the basis of sex--in spite of the fact that boys and girls appear to be seated at random in the classroom. Except in rare cases, when a subject crosses sex lines it is to reject a pupil of the opposite sex; the two groups virtually ignore one another.

2. In classes where a number of Europeans as well as Black Africans are present, a clear division along racial lines appears in addition to the division by sex. These racial groupings, however, are slightly less exclusive than the sex groups. For instance, a European boy may attract or reject an African boy, but ignore European girls.

3. Apart from clear-cut divisions along sex and along racial lines, Congolese classrooms are very loosely structured. In no case is a pupil

63. Responses to this question will not be analyzed in this report.

64. Outing, in French "promenade," applies to a walk as well as to a ride by any means of transportation.

selected or rejected by more than half of his (or her) classmates. Indeed, the "star" position is usually shared by up to five pupils; "isolates" are rare; and very few are "rejected" by more than a handful of their classmates. This generalization is less valid in the case of the Industrial Section of the "Lycée Technique."⁶⁵ *rejection in Congolese schools.*

4. A large number of Congolese students chose themselves as team leaders. In the fifteen-class sample analyzed, exactly 40 per cent of those who chose a team leader appointed themselves to that position. At the sixth grade level, the average rate of self-appointment to the leadership position (41.1 per cent with a low of 23.3 per cent and a high of 55.3 per cent) is slightly higher than at the tenth grade level (38.3 per cent, with a low of 11.5 per cent and a high of 46.8 per cent). It should be noted that the lowest rate of self-appointment (11.5 per cent) occurred in the Industrial Section of the "Lycée Technique." This remark points to a relationship between the amorphous quality of most class structures and the generally high rate of self-appointments to leadership positions. Both variables may be strongly affected by the fact that the team formation task required by a sociometric test is unfamiliar to Congolese school children.⁶⁶ *grade level.*

The Congolese students' willingness to reach across ethnic and religious lines in order to select team mates might conceivably be measured by the frequency with which such line crossings occur in the sample. But choices are strongly affected by available alternatives. In this sample of sixth and tenth graders, each class forms a closed social unit, with greatly varying numbers of alternatives available to subjects from one unit to another. For example, in a class predominantly made up of Roman Catholic Kongo, a subject is more likely to select a member of this ethno-religious group simply because the subject has fewer alternatives. Therefore, no statistical comparisons across classroom units can be made unless a complex weighting system can be devised. *27 girls*

In Test II the subjects generally made rational sociometric choices instead of blindly deciding on the basis of ethnic or religious affiliations. However, it is possible that rational choices could have resulted in a more balanced distribution of "stars," "isolates," and "rejected" among members of the various ethnic groups. Hence, the two following generalizations: *182*

4) Occupation of Father or Guardian

65. A. Hauser made a similar observation after giving a sociometric test to a vocational training class. He suggested that this phenomenon may be due to the fact that vocational school pupils have more opportunities to engage in teamwork.
66. If Congolese school children have experienced some form of teamwork in their traditional culture, the method is almost never used in Congolese schools as a teaching technique.

3) 1) Sociometric choices in Congolese schools are influenced but not determined by ethnic factors.

2) Religious affiliation seems to have very little influence, if any at all, on patterns of social attraction and rejection in Congolese schools.

14 years:	10 (5.6%)	21 years:	10 (5.6%)
15 years:	20 (11.1%)	22 years:	8 (4.4%)
16 years:	12 (7.0%)	23 years:	11 (6.4%)
17 years:	29 (16.9%)	over 23:	42 (24.4%)

Test III--Characteristics of Sample

1) Ethnic Composition

1) Classes

Equatorial Region: 25 (13.8%)

Types and levels: 40 (22.1%)

Central Region: 90 (49.8%)

A. Higher Education ("Centre d'Enseignement Supérieur"), Teacher-Training Section, "baccalauréat" level.

B. Two public "lycées," two classes at "baccalauréat" level ("classes terminales").

C. Two private "colleges classiques et modernes," one for boys, at "baccalauréat" level; one for girls, at the tenth grade level.

D. Three Teacher-Training Schools ("Cours Normaux"), two public, one private; two classes at the tenth grade level; two at the professional year level (B.E.P.C. plus one year).

E. Two Catholic Seminaries, one class at the tenth grade level, the other at the eleventh grade level.

F. A group of in-service teachers holding the rank of "instituteurs-adjoints" or "moniteurs supérieurs."

2) Subjects

155 boys

27 girls

Total: 182

3) Place of Birth

Urban area: 54 (including 12 Europeans) 30%

Rural area: 128 70%

Total: 182

4) Occupation of Father or Guardian

Traditional: 78

Modern: 86

67. All percentages are computed on the basis of the number of relevant responses for each characteristic.

5) Age Distribution (sent or preparing for)

14 years:	1 (0.6%) ⁶⁷	21 years:	10 (5.6%)
16 "	11 (6.4%)	22 "	12 (7.0%)
17 "	12 (7.0%)	23 "	4 (2.3%)
18 "	20 (11.1%)	24 "	8 (4.6%)
19 "	12 (7.0%)	25 "	11 (6.4%)
20 "	29 (16.9%)	over 25:	42 (24.4%)

6) Ethnic Composition (most often outside of the classroom)

Equatorial Bantu:	25 (13.8%)
Northwestern Bantu:	40 (22.1%)
Central Bantu:	90 (49.8%)
Non-Congolese:	14 (7.7%)
Europeans:	12 (6.6%)
	<u>181</u>

7) Religious Affiliations

Roman Catholics:	130 (74.3%)
Protestants	
(Evangelical):	31 (17.7%)
Salvation Army:	2 (1.1%)
Jehovah's	
Witnesses:	2 (1.1%)
Animists & Non-	
believers:	10 (5.6%)
	<u>173</u>

8) Marital Status

Single:	118
Married (kind of ceremonies)	
"Customary":	33
"Civil":	60
"Religious":	28

9) Prior Studies in

Public schools only:	49
Private schools only:	72
Both successively:	43

67. All percentages are computed on the basis of the number of relevant responses for each characteristic.

This explains the fact that the submitted data show more marriage ceremonies than there are married subjects.

10) Occupations (present or preparing for)

Teaching:	116 (including 76 with previous experience)
Medicine:	8
Law:	5
Technical careers:	12
Others:	4

11) Language Spoken Most Often Outside of the Classroom

Mother tongues:	70 (39.8%)
French:	78 (including 12 Europeans) (43.2%)
Lingala:	24 (13.7%)
Monokotuba:	4 (2.3%)

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Representativeness of Sample. Test II was originally designed for students about to finish their secondary studies and for teachers-in-training. This sample includes students from all three "classes terminales" existing during 1961-62 in Congolese secondary schools (33 students out of a total population of 82). It includes students in the "professional training class in each of the three main Congolese teacher-training centers, that is, in the "Cours Normal" (Brazzaville), in the "Collège Normal" (Dolisie), and in the "Section Normale" of Collège Chaminade (Brazzaville). Missing are students from the Normal School for Girls (Mouyoundzi) and from the Protestant Normal School (N'Gouédi), that is, about twenty students. On the other hand, about half the "instituteurs-adjoints," presently being trained at the "Centre d'Enseignement Supérieur" to fill positions in the expanding secondary school system of the Congo, have been included. Twenty in-service primary school teachers complete the teacher part of the sample. Finally, the two top classes of two Catholic seminaries have been added. Since only ten girls were enrolled in the above classes, a tenth grade class (seventeen girls) at the "College Javouhey" (Brazzaville) was also used. Hence, there is no doubt that this sample includes a substantial number of Congolese students who will occupy leading positions in the Congo within ten years.

The reported occupations of the subjects' father or guardian have been classified into two categories: "traditional" and "modern." The results are only approximate since some traditional occupations such as farming or fishing are perhaps being performed with modern methods. Occupations were classified as "modern" when they were obviously performed within the framework of a cash economy.

Current marriage ceremonies are performed according to ancient custom, by civil authorities, or by Church ministers. A couple may get married in any one way or in all three ways. This explains the fact that the submitted data show more marriage ceremonies than there are married subjects.

Responses to Test III. In this third attempt at exploring the areas of impact of formal education on Congolese youth, three series of questions were submitted to subjects who themselves have been exposed to at least ten years of formal education and who, in turn, will soon be in a position to influence others. Test III, then, explores the changes in beliefs, values, and attitudes to which formal education has powerfully contributed, and suggests some of the directions in which formal education will probably orient Congolese youth in the years to come.

Responses to Test III questions should be placed in the perspective of Congolese "traditional culture" previously outlined in this report. Selected responses discussed here are only those most relevant to the objectives of this exploratory test. The original text of Test III may be found in Appendix VI.

In Test III, Form A, 28 open-ended questions were submitted to the subjects who were instructed to complete the sentences "with the first thing that comes to mind." This technique has been used successfully by Maria Leblanc in her study of Katangan women.⁶⁸ Other students of the psychology of Africans have also used this technique considered "most promising because of [its] flexibility" by a leading Africanist.⁶⁹ The validity of the technique rests on the assumption that an incomplete but commonly used sentence will evoke almost automatically a word or part of a phrase which will complete a sentence and thereby reflect what a person has often heard or believes as a matter of fact. In order to obtain this kind of response, the subjects were allowed only 15 to 20 minutes to complete the twenty-eight sentences. They were instructed to pass on to the next sentence if a response did not come immediately to mind.

Twenty-one out of the twenty-eight sentences used are translations or adaptations of a list of twenty-four incomplete sentences used by George D. Spindler in a similar test he gave to hundreds of students at the Stanford University School of Education.⁷⁰ The other questions (Nos. 6, 11, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, and 28) were especially developed for this test in the Congo.

A method of content analysis was applied in order to classify similar and frequent responses to fourteen of the twenty-eight incomplete

68. Maria Leblanc, Personnalité de la Femme Katangaise--Contribution à l'étude de son acculturation (Louvain: Editions E. Neuvelearts, 1960).

69. S. Biesheuvel, in "Report of the CSA Meeting of Specialists . . .," op. cit., p. 4.

70. George D. Spindler, "Values Projective Technique." (Mimeographed.)

sentences. The following results are expressed in percentages (in parentheses after each sentence) of the total number of different responses obtained for each sentence.⁷¹

Results. Sentence No. 1: "I wish my parents _____" (185 elements recorded). The most frequent response was "...were educated" (30.3%). Next in frequency is this response: "...were rich" (22.2%). It should be noted that in the Congolese context "educated" and "rich" are almost synonymous. Other frequent responses were: "...had health" or "...a long life" (14.1%); "...happiness" (7.6%); "...were Christians" (5.9%); and others unclassified (20%). These unclassified responses do not fall into any of the previous categories, and each does not occur frequently enough to be worth special mention. One example: "...would use fertilizers in their fields."

Sentence No. 2: "All men are born _____" (180 elements). The most frequent response was: "...equal" (28.3%). Some added "...and free" but 8.3% specified "...before the law." Other responses were "...bad" (6.7%), half of them mentioning the "original sin"; "...good" (5.6%); "...to serve--others or their country (5.6%); "...different" (3.9%); and "...brothers" (2.8%). A large number of responses (78 or 43.3%) occurred still less frequently. These include: "...of Adam and Eve," "...white," "...naked," etc.

Sentence No. 6: "Foreigners⁷² should _____" (193 elements). Most frequent responses: "...respect local customs" or "...try to understand the Congolese and their ways" (24.4%); "...adjust to local customs" and "...obey local laws" (24.4%); "...be welcome" or "...be given hospitality" (22.3%); "...cooperate with the Congolese" or "...work for the good of the Congo" (19.5%). Unclassified responses are few (9.3%). These include statements such as "...leave jobs for those who are unemployed," an obvious reference to the presence of non-Congolese black Africans, not to "Europeans."

Sentence No. 8: "If I had a son I would want him to _____" (190 elements). The most frequent responses referred to some profession: "...be a doctor" (18.9%) or "...be a technician," "...a teacher,"

71. Note that the total number of responses classified may exceed the number of subjects in the sample, since a single response sometimes falls into more than one category.

72. The term "foreigner" ("étranger") has an ambiguous meaning in the Congolese context. French nationals and whites in general are commonly called "Europeans"; non-Congolese black Africans are often referred to as "étrangers." This must be kept in mind in interpreting responses to Sentence No. 6.

etc. (20%, for a total of 38.9%). Next in importance: "...be intelligent" or "...be educated" (30%); references to moral character, such as "...be honest," "...be sincere," etc. (16.3%); and "...be a great man" (3.7%). Unclassified responses: 11.1%.

Sentence No. 11: "A well brought up child ought to _____" (190 elements). Most frequent response: "...be respectful" or "...be obedient" (32.1%). Other responses: "...be polite" or some reference to good manners (29.4%); "...be a good example" or some reference to good behavior (20%); "...be successful" (3.7%). Unclassified responses: 14.7%.

Sentence No. 12: "Everyone should want to _____" (189 elements). Most frequent response: "...improve oneself"--presumably through education, as sometimes mentioned (19.0%). Other responses: "...seek the good," "the truth," or some similar ideal (14.3%); "...seek wealth," "security," or "a good profession" (13.2%); "...obtain what one thinks is best" (12.2%); "...serve one's country" (9.5%); "...work" (2.6%). Unclassified responses: 16.9%.

Sentence No. 14: "I wish I had _____" (189 elements). Most frequent response: "...more intelligence," "...more memory," "...more education," or "...success" in whatever certificate the subject was seeking (29.6%). Other responses: "...a..." material object such as a scooter, a car, a house, or "...two large copy-books in order to copy literature" (19.6%); "...wealth" or "...a good position" (18.5%); "...a beautiful wife" or "...children" (14.3%); "...work" (2.6%). Unclassified responses: 20%.

Sentence No. 15: "Good parents ought to _____" (190 elements). Most frequent response: "...educate (bring up) their children" (55.2%). Other responses: "...supervise their children" (11.6%); "...help (provide for) their children" (9.0%); "...love their children" (5.3%). Other unclassified responses (19.0%) include "...be indulgent," "...be understanding," or "...set a good example" and "...guide their children."

Sentence No. 18: "Fetishers are _____" (189 elements). Most frequent response: "...deceitful," "...liars," "...crooks," "...thieves," or "...false healers" (49.7%). However, some of these judgments are preceded by "sometimes" or "often." Other responses: "...dangerous," "...harmful" (even "diabolical") (16.4%). Another 5.3% expressed disapproval, and 4.7% thought fetishers were rather "ridiculous," "jokers," "out of fashion." However, 13.2% believed that they were "sometimes useful." Unclassified responses: 10.6%. One response expressed a widely held view: "...sometimes deceitful, but they are necessary."

24. The word *antester* ("antester") is sometimes used in French (in a familiar, slangy way) to designate living persons, old-timers.

Sentence No. 19: "Nudity is _____" (164 elements).⁷³ The most frequent response is one of strong disapproval. Sixty per cent of the responses contain words such as "sinful," "immoral," "indecent," "horrible," "despicable," and "disgusting." One statement makes nudity "...the worst of vices," while a few others see it as a sign of barbarianism, "...an act of primitives." On the other hand, 12.2% confine themselves to "factual" statements such as "...the state of being unclad," or "...a sign of poverty." Some--particularly the European students--tried to be witty: "...dangerous for catching a cold," or, simply, "...economical." Finally, a mere 12.2% consider nudity "...a natural state." Unclassified responses: 10.9%.

Sentence No. 21: "Bars and dance-halls are _____" (183 elements). As in the case of No. 19, the most frequent response expressed disapproval: "...bad for young men and women" (33.9%); "...a dangerous threat to morality" (11.5%); while 7.6% consider bars and dance-halls "...wasteful" (of time and money); 13.7% call them "places of recreation," but the French word "distractions" may imply mild disapproval. On the other hand, 13.7% approve of them provided that they are visited with moderation. Finally, another 13.7% make morally neutral statements. Unclassified responses: 7.1%.

Sentence No. 23: "Ancestors are _____"⁷⁴ (179 elements). Factual statements were most frequent: "...those who have brought us into the world" or "...dead" (26.8%). Next in frequency was: "...to be honored," "...worthy of respect" (23.0%). Other responses: "...wise," "...our philosophers" (10.0%); "...representatives of tradition" (8.9%). Some gave rather negative statements: "...ignorant," "...illiterate" (7.3%); 5.6% believed that ancestors are helping them, watching over their interests, while 1.7% were afraid of their ancestors' influence on their lives. Unclassified responses: 9.5%. These include statements such as: "...despised by young people," "...responsible for our good or our bad fortune," "...uncivilized," "...too conservative," "...greedy," and "...people who have a civilization different from ours."

Sentence No. 24: "In a family one ought to _____" (182 elements). An overwhelming majority (71.0%) offered one of the three following statements (in order of frequency): "...love one another," "...help one another," "...be united," that is, all references to family harmony or solidarity. An additional 4.4% mentioned the obligation to work for the good of the family. Finally, 10.9% wrote: "...respect

73. This low number of responses suggests a certain reluctance from the part of the subjects to react to Sentence No. 19.

74. The word ancestor ("ancêtre") is sometimes used in French (in a familiar, slangy way) to designate living persons, old-timers.

(or obey) the head of the family." Unclassified responses: 12%.

Sentence No. 28: "Professors should country, his" (191 elements). Responses were rather vague and varied widely. Of these, 27.2% wrote: "...do their job well" or statements to that effect. Other responses: "...get to know their pupils better" or "...try to understand their pupils" (20.0%); "...be more indulgent," "...less demanding" (6.8%), "...love their pupils" (6.3%); "...be just" (4.7%); "...give special attention to the weaker students" (4.2%). Unclassified responses: 23.6%. These include: "...be tougher," "...be better paid," "...be well-dressed," "...help the Congo make up for wasted time." Inevitably, the Ideal Congolese Young Man is educated ("lettered"), a faithful and considerate husband, a good father, and a citizen dedi-

Form B of Test III⁷⁵ is another application of a projective technique.⁷⁶ The subjects were asked to describe in a short paragraph their concept of the "Ideal Congolese Young Man" and of the "Ideal Congolese Young Woman." The age of the young man or woman was not specified, but it was stressed that the description had to be an expression of the subject's own ideal.

The responses have not been analyzed in a strict statistical way, but a composite picture of the young man and woman described may still be drawn. The characteristics do not necessarily appear in the order of frequency with which the subjects mentioned them. Nevertheless, the writer believes that the following is a sufficiently faithful portrait of the "Ideal Congolese Young Man," as described by a sample of male Congolese students:

The Ideal Congolese Young Man is physically and morally healthy. He is honest, hard-working, altruistic, just, well-mannered, thrifty, disciplined, and human.

His first obligation is to acquire a good education (at least up to the level of the tenth grade). He must learn as much as he can about his country, its history, its natural assets and its needs.

Once established in a good and secure position, the Ideal Congolese Young Man must look for a wife who will be his companion as well as the mother of his children. He must choose her for her qualities of heart and mind, without regard for tribal origin or for fortune. As a provider, he gives priority to a comfortable home equipped with modern conveniences, and to education for his children.

is succinctly in these words: "The Ideal Congolese Young Woman should not imitate European women, except in being faithful and submissive."

75. The same sample was given all three forms of Test III. A few did not respond to one form or another.

77. Note that the small sample of female students obtained is gener-

76. Also used by Professor George D. Spindler at Stanford University. See The Burton Lecture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,

1960), p. 4. ⁷⁸ Drawn mostly from a Catholic girls' school.

But all this is largely a preparation, a setting of the stage for the Ideal Congolese Young Man to play a role which transcends all others: to serve his country, his "dear Congo." He must realistically appraise the Congo's position in Africa and in the world; he must lead his nation--within his sphere of activities--in effecting the cultural, social, and economic evolution required of a young country about to join Africa and the world on the road to human progress.

The female⁷⁷ Congolese students' concept of the Ideal Congolese Young Man does not differ essentially from the composite picture just drawn. Inevitably, the Ideal Congolese Young Man is educated ("lettré"), a faithful and considerate husband, a good father, and a citizen dedicated to the service of his country. Only his moral and religious convictions,⁷⁸ his duties as a husband and a father are stressed more heavily.

A composite picture of the Ideal Congolese Young Woman, as seen by a sample of male Congolese students, can also be drawn:

The Ideal Congolese Young Woman is educated ("instruite"), but at a lower level than the young man (somewhere between the sixth and the tenth grade). Her moral standards are high; she is conscious of her equality to man.

The Ideal Congolese Young Woman is above all a good mother, a faithful wife and companion, and the educator of her children. Her role in the development of the Congo is just as important as her husband's, but she is to stay clear of politics and only exceptionally have a career of her own. Her contribution is in her home--a modern one, independent of family entanglements. She has freely chosen her husband without regard to dowry or social position. She is as scrupulously faithful to her husband as she was pure before marriage. She is attractive and elegant without ostentation; she knows how to blend harmoniously the old and the new.

This portrait reveals the ambivalence of the Congolese young men's attitude toward the modern Congolese young woman: they want a wife who is their companion, their intellectual equal, as well as the mother of their children. And yet, they regret the days when the Congolese woman was a hard-working, submissive creature whose existence was largely absorbed by the needs of her husband and children. One student put it succinctly in these words: "The Ideal Congolese Young Woman should not imitate European women, except in being faithful and submissive."

77. Note that the small sample of female students obtained is generally of a lower academic level (tenth grade) than the male students.

78. The sample is drawn mostly from a Catholic girls' school.

The female Congolese students, in their description of the Ideal Congolese Young Woman, are generally willing to meet the Congolese young men's requirements. They are acutely conscious of the role they are expected to play in the modern Congolese society, and they intend to play it precisely at the level and the way Congolese young men would have them. Their duties as housewife are spelled out in more detail, and they are more concerned with gaining emancipation from their parents than from their future husband.

As many subjects have observed, these ideal (perfect) Congolese young men and women probably do not exist in large number at present in the Congo. But the object of this test was to identify the characteristics of an ideal person as they have been communicated to the Congolese youth through the various forms of education, and to help predict the directions in which tomorrow's Congolese youth will be oriented.

The third and last form of Test III also applies a projective technique, this one still less developed than the two preceding ones. A short statement actually written by a young African was quoted.⁷⁹ Then the subjects were requested to comment briefly on the text. Twenty lines were provided for that purpose. The text will be presented below in an English translation:

Here, no matter what one may say, no well-defined institution shows any sign of development. Everything is to be done. Not a language capable of serving all parts of the country, merely local dialects. In matters of moral: naive and more or less incoherent fetishist institutions. On the artistic side? Spontaneous creations without strict principles. Therefore, nothing but potentialities.

This statement, most Africanists would agree, is not fair. Its author, a non-Congolese Roman Catholic African living in Brazzaville when he wrote this statement in the late 1940's, reached the conclusion that African culture had very little to offer to a modernizing nation. He urged the Europeans (that is, the French) to agree among themselves as to what cultural elements best fitted the emerging African nations and to transfer these elements to Africa without further delay. None of these details about the quotation was revealed to the subjects of the test. Indeed, the text was intended to shock the students, to make them react in a clearly positive or negative way. It was fully expected that some students might at once register a strong protest, perhaps even stand up and walk out of the room. No such thing occurred. Most subjects silently wrote as long a comment as the available space would allow.

79. M. Ayrault, quoted by Georges Balandier in Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires (Paris: A. Colin, 1955).

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their history, and their new form of government. However, in this shift of emphasis from a French and Equatorial African community to an emerging Congolese nation, the same communication media were more active than the schools. The adaptation of the schools to requirements of the nation-building reorientation of those in Guinea and Senegal. But their performance, again, is a reflection of the AND PRACTICE

National Goals and Education

The attitude of the Congolese Government and people toward France and the rest of the world in this post-independence period is reflected in the educational policies adopted by the Congolese leaders during the last decade. Local autonomy and international sovereignty were not considered as means of effecting radical changes in the institutions introduced by France but rather as an opportunity for Congolese leaders to make institutional decisions in the same general directions as before in accordance with priorities dictated by Congolese interests. Hence, the Congo's insistence on the development of a school system as closely similar as possible to the one which had produced the French decision-makers in the Congo during the colonial period. Since the Congo has never been a colony of settlement, the Congolese people have only been exposed to a restricted segment of French society made up mostly of priests, teachers, doctors, and civil servants. The presence in the Congo of a few planters, technicians, and traders, and the somewhat subordinate position these individuals occupied in the colonial society, only reinforced the Congolese's convictions regarding the kind of education most likely to fulfill their individual and national aspirations. Hence, the unquestioned acceptance of the ideal of universal, compulsory, and free primary education as an end in itself and as a preparation for a secondary education oriented toward institutions of higher learning in France or elsewhere, and the eventual establishment of such higher education institutions in the Congo.

The aim of forging national unity under Congolese leadership has naturally received top priority since the creation of the autonomous Congolese Republic in 1958, and formal education has been given a vital role to play in this nation-building enterprise. Primary education, as set up by French authorities, directly and through missionary societies, was largely functional in this respect: its uniform message communicated by means of a single language de-emphasized tribal differences, tended to develop among all Congolese youth a common set of ideas, attitudes, and skills, and encouraged loyalty toward a broader social and political entity. But this entity was not specifically defined in Congolese terms. It embraced the whole ex-French Equatorial Africa and the French Union or Community under the leadership of France. The primary school system was adopted unchanged except for slight corrections in the content of its message which was altered in order to include more detailed knowledge of the Congolese territory, its people,

their history, and their new form of government. However, in this shift of emphasis from a French and Equatorial African community to an emerging Congolese nation, the mass communication media were more active than the schools. The adaptation of the schools to requirements of the nation-building task have been slow and half-hearted compared with the reorientation of those in Guinea and Ghana. But their performance, again, is a reflection of the more conservative attitude of the Congolese leadership.

The second order of priority established by Congolese leadership after 1958 was concerned with the rapid "Africanization of cadres." At this point an important distinction must be introduced. If the term "cadre" is to retain meaning it must be applied to a group of persons adequately qualified by virtue of general education, specialized knowledge, and experience to hold responsible positions and to inspire, direct, and supervise the work of others. Thus, "Africanization of cadres" must be distinguished from mere "Africanization of civil service posts." The latter is virtually accomplished in the Congo as in most new African countries; the former has merely begun. The Africanization of civil service posts, timidly initiated at the time of the "Loi-Cadre" (1956), proceeded at a swift pace after 1958. The primary criteria for appointment to middle- and high-level posts were ethnic and political, and sometimes related to qualities of character and judgment, but only secondarily to technical competence and experience. Large-scale Africanization of the civil service was managed through the rapid promotion of minor officials several steps up the civil service ladder and the juxtaposition of foreign technical advisers in most of the important positions. In the Congo, this process was facilitated by France's willingness to supply the technicians and to pay for their services.¹ But Africanization of the cadres (in the strict sense) remains one of the main goals of the Congolese leadership, and formal education is expected to fulfill this mission. The existing secondary school system, oriented as it is toward higher education at home and abroad, promises to supply an ample quantity of young Congolese with the necessary knowledge and skills. Whether the proper attitudes of service to the Congolese community are being developed at the same time is a more difficult question to answer. In any case, this rising new generation of technically competent Congolese cadres can expect some opposition from the older generation which will be reluctant to step down from their hard-won positions. At least the older generation has not so far systematically fought efforts to educate and train new cadres.

Once united and competently led, the Congolese nation has to decide where to go. Congolese leaders of all ethnic groups and party affiliations have repeatedly affirmed their intention to follow a course of

1. The private sector has been much slower in effecting Africanization. As long as businessmen will stand the political pressure, they will be reluctant to adopt such a costly solution.

close cooperation among African states and with France and the rest of Western Europe. Such a course is believed essential if the Congo is to receive the financial and technical assistance it needs in order to reach the goal of industrialization, the key to world prestige and higher standards of living. Ever since the 1958 Referendum when France strongly hinted that a "yes" vote meant the construction of the Kouilou Dam and the creation of an industrial complex in the Pointe-Noire area, Congolese leaders have been obsessed by the promises of rapid industrialization. At present, educational structures and programs are not oriented toward the production of industrial and technical manpower. But a reservoir of students with sufficient general education are becoming available for "accelerated" technical training programs which could adequately meet the demand if industrialization should become a reality.

If agricultural development is the theme of countless speeches by Congolese leaders, progress toward the solution of Congolese agricultural problems of a technical and economic nature appears to be very slow. In the area of agricultural education, efforts initiated by the French are being pursued by the Congolese. These efforts are mainly concerned with the vocational training of agricultural "moniteurs" and engineers. However, thus far the wider role of the school in the general education of the rural population has largely been ignored in relation to agricultural development. It may be that the association of formal education and agriculture is simply considered as a contradiction in terms. In any case, as further analysis will demonstrate, it is in its contribution to agricultural development that Congolese formal education is found most wanting.

Beyond these general comments concerning Congolese national goals and their relationship to educational policy and practice, a brief critical review of particular aspects of the Congolese school system can be offered as a summary of the descriptive analysis presented in the preceding chapter.

School Administration

The central administrative structure of educational organization in the Congo was retained intact after independence. This is a natural consequence of the continuity of functions assigned to formal education since independence. Other factors also contributed to this lack of pressure toward change: the Ministry of Education and its technical services form a part of the organization of all Government services. Since the latter followed the French model, pressures toward organizational uniformity in all services are strong. Finally, the Congolese, administrators as well as administered, have become familiar with this system and with no other. Radical changes would have seriously complicated the already difficult problems posed by rapid Africanization of cadres and might have reduced the efficiency of the many French technical advisers who stayed on after independence. Short of the impetus

which a revolutionary movement might provide, it is unlikely that the recently promoted Congolese cadres will feel a strong desire to initiate changes--with the element of insecurity which change implies.

In view of the nation-building function assigned to formal education in the Congo, the highly centralized character of French educational organization retained by the Congolese appears to be the appropriate one. It is probable that local community control of educational policy and administration would be very inefficient in trying to build a unified nation, since local community leaders are generally illiterate and also ignorant of the educational goals set by the national leadership. If a decentralized system could work at all it would tend to emphasize local differences and to encourage the retention and the development of some tribal characteristics which stand in the way of national unification. Centralization, then, serves the social, cultural, and political goals of the Congolese Government.

However, in the economic sphere centralization appears to be doubly dysfunctional: it tends to discourage local effort and to put the financial burden of ever increasing school expenditures on the national Government and it produces a school system little responsive to the particular economic needs of the local communities. As a result, village schools are really alien institutions offered as "free gifts" by the central Government which also sets their goals and controls their operation; local communities only supply the pupils who, educated largely without regard for local community needs, strongly wish to leave this community as soon as possible.

The same conclusions apply to school organization itself. As long as the Congolese schools are certificate-oriented and devoted to the preparation of élite cadres, there is no need to alter structures. The familiar divisions by levels ("ordres d'enseignement"), types, and grades again facilitate rapid quantitative developments with the help of French teachers. Changes will be required only when proper attention is paid to the vast majority of Congolese school children who occupy a marginal position in the system as it presently exists, that is, to all those who are sacrificed to the cadre-building objectives of Congolese education.

School Finance

The Congo's financial sacrifice for educational purposes is indeed great. From the time Congolese leaders could exert some influence in matters of educational investment, since the end of the Second World War, they have consistently pressed for a larger share of resources to be allocated to education. As a result, for each of the past several years, education has absorbed more than a quarter of the current national expenditures. These relatively large sums do not cover all the costs of operating private schools (which provide educational services to roughly half the Congo's school population), nor all the

costs of the secondary school personnel. Furthermore, most of the capital investment funds for buildings and equipment come from foreign sources, as does support for developing higher education. It is obvious that without foreign aid (mostly from France and the Common Market), the Congo could not continue to provide the educational services presently offered to Congolese youth. In this respect, the Congo does not differ from most other developing countries. The Congo must accept this situation, even try to prolong it for several years, if the discouraging circle of ignorance and underdevelopment is to be broken in the near future.

At this point certain difficult problems face the Congolese leaders. The Congo has unquestioningly adopted the French principle of free, universal education between the ages of 6 and 16. The democratic ideal of equality of opportunity appears to justify the adoption of this policy. However, it is possible that the same purposes could be served--particularly at the secondary school level--by setting up a system of fees and scholarships. Such a system is presently in operation in the Congo in secondary boarding schools. It could be extended to include urban day schools. Some of the money recovered through the collection of fees from the students who can afford to pay might then be used to help provide educational opportunities in rural regions where none is available at present.

The cost of salaries for teachers and administrators represents more than 75% of the total operating costs of Congolese schools. In view of the wide gap which exists between the salaries of teachers and those of unskilled laborers, it would seem that the teachers' pay could be reduced without adversely affecting the supply and quality of school teachers. Since Congolese teachers form part of the civil service, action in the area would have to originate from the civil service and equally affect all branches of the service. Congolese leaders at present show no intention of taking such a step, and it can be forcefully argued that higher teacher salaries are necessary to attract the highest quality talent into that profession that is crucial to the general upgrading of human resources.

Public and private schools in the Congo have always operated with little or no direct financial support from the population where the schools are located. Just a few years ago, this situation was unavoidable: parents often showed little enthusiasm for formal education and lived at a level of bare subsistence. Now that the desire for formal education is fairly universal and that more people live in a money economy, a larger share of the cost of construction and maintenance of school buildings--particularly at the elementary level--could be supported by the local population, especially since a substantial part of the local contribution could be made in the form of labor or local material. But now that people have come to expect "the Administration" to provide free education, it will be difficult to obtain greater local effort. Finally, a more serious obstacle is perhaps the

fact that formal education in the Congo does not appear to be of immediate and direct benefit to the local communities in which the schools are located. On the contrary, the rural schools are a constant drain on the human resources of the local communities: as a result of schooling, many children leave the villages never to return; and those who remain have only learned skills of little or no use to the local community. In other words, local financial support of schools is unlikely to increase unless the aims and the content of Congolese education undergo a radical change.

Curriculum and Textbooks

From the birth of formal education in the Congo to independence, official programs of studies have been substantially the same as in French schools at corresponding levels and types of institutions. Throughout that period, repeated attempts have been made by missionaries and governments to adapt the content of education to local conditions. Formal statements of intent regarding instructional content, in order to be effective, call for textbooks and examinations that are appropriate to local conditions and needs. Until recently and with very few exceptions, however, school textbooks used in the Congo were prepared in France for French school children. Similarly, examinations for the pre-war "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires Indigènes" (C.E.P.I.), designed to sanction completion of the Congolese primary course of study, differed from its French counterpart, the C.E.P., mainly in standards of attainment, not in content. It is for that reason that Congolese leaders--as soon as they could influence decisions--insisted on the abolition of the C.E.P.I. and on the adoption of a curriculum designed to enhance the pupils' chances of admission into French "lycées" and eventually into French institutions of higher learning.

Since World War II the Congolese school curriculum, in both theory and practice, has been made even more similar to the French school curriculum with the exception of the social studies program. As long as the Congo was part of the French Union the history and geography programs were centered less around Metropolitan France and more around the "France d'Outre-Mer" with attention given to individual territories. During that period, also, new history and geography textbooks began to appear and made the new curriculum objectives of local appropriateness a classroom reality. By the end of the War, numerous French teachers with long years of experience in the overseas territories were prepared to write textbooks for a market vastly expanded by the recent school developments. For the same reasons, such textbooks were designed to meet the needs of large regions or groups of territories such as French West Africa or French Equatorial Africa. This long delayed step represented a definite improvement over the type of textbooks which reportedly contained statements such as "Nos ancêtres, les Gaulois . . .".

However, new textbooks with appropriate content and emphasis on the Congo have not yet been produced. This is likely to remain a problem for some time. Even the cheap and readily available pre-independence textbooks are in extremely short supply in Congolese primary schools. It is doubtful that Congo-centered textbooks, with their limited school market, will keep pace with the curriculum changes desired in the years ahead.

At the secondary level, very little curricular change is likely to take place as long as the baccalaureate examination ("bachot") is controlled by a French university. A transfer of responsibility from a French university to the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" would not change the situation, since the latter is being developed mainly along the lines of traditional French higher education.

There remains the choice of a type of school where a curriculum adapted to Congolese needs could be developed: the "Collège d'Enseignement Général." Indeed, this fast-growing type of school, established throughout the country, could be made to serve the needs of local communities in general, vocational, and technical education. Unfortunately, the role of these schools has not been carefully defined and they are still trying to find their missions between two alternatives: 1) a continuation of primary education with some degree of vocational specialization, or 2) a preparation for the second stage of secondary education offered in the traditional French "lycées." To the extent that the first alternative is favored, some program adaptation is being made along the lines followed in primary education. It appears, however, that social and political pressures may force the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" to offer a course of studies leading a few students to the "bachot" and leading the others practically nowhere.

Considering all the factors that influence the educational effort, it is not surprising to find that the Congolese school curriculum is not radically different from the French-devised, pre-independence curriculum. The difficult task will be to change the curriculum to a more responsive instrument to the needs of the new Congo nation.

Examinations and Scholarships

The examination system set up by the French and retained by the Congolese has the same merits and is open to the same criticisms as similar systems throughout the world. As long as the Congo cannot offer a secondary education to every Congolese of secondary school age, selection of the ablest candidates could be based on worse criteria than competitive examinations. One might deplore the fact that these examinations almost alone decide which children will continue up the Congolese educational ladder. But considering the absence of objective measuring instruments adapted to the Congolese school population and

the relatively low level of professional preparation of most teachers, a more comprehensive assessment of the candidates' performance and aptitudes is very difficult to obtain at this time. At least these examinations have a high degree of face validity. Indeed, the content of the examinations, in strict conformance with the prescribed curriculum, determines to a large extent the actual content of classroom instruction. The examinations' predictive validity is, however, much more difficult to establish. This is an area where much research must be done.

The Congolese examination system is questioned because it is only capable of making rough distinctions regarding the aptitudes of the candidates. At this time, examination results simply send a minority of pupils up the educational ladder for eventual admission at the university, orient a group of lower performers toward the teacher-training institutions, and divert a group of the lowest test performers to vocational schools, and drop the rest unprepared on the labor market. When school facilities become available to the whole six-to-sixteen age group (as the 1961 school law provides), the examination system may appear to lose much of its present functions. If maximum utilization of human talent is to be attempted, valid and reliable test results concerned with a wide range of abilities and personality characteristics will become necessary. The present examination system is unprepared for this task.

Finally, the Congolese Department of Examinations plays no direct part in program evaluation and development. It is only expected to determine how well a given body of knowledge has been absorbed by the Congolese school children. Any change in curriculum is simply communicated to the Department of Examinations which must take the change into account when preparing future examination questions. The Department's failure to contribute to the vital evaluative functions of program development has been inherited from the traditional French system, and few if any Congolese educators are trained to correct the situation. This represents a serious handicap at a time when the whole educational system needs to be re-examined and possibly redesigned.

The Congolese scholarship system also performs useful functions. Scholarships are generally awarded on merit. They are awarded justly and democratically if one assumes that the competitive examinations are valid in uncovering talent for academic work; they increase the chances that the available places in secondary and higher education are occupied by the academically most deserving pupils.

The number of scholarships for secondary education will be decreasing as free schooling becomes available to more pupils up to the age of 16. However, age 16 is about three years short of the normal age for completion of the baccalaureate course. The scholarship system is likely to be maintained for these pre-baccalaureate years as well as for higher education to be pursued in the Congo or abroad.

Frequent charges are made that scholarships are awarded for political reasons, on ethnic grounds, or through favoritism. Such things undoubtedly occur, but there is no indication that they occur on a large scale. In any case, the Congolese Government has taken a step in the right direction by setting up a high-level commission representing a broad range of interests and competencies to determine the country's trained manpower needs and to direct the judicious distribution of scholarship funds. Assisted by competent technicians, the commission will render invaluable services if it can remain sufficiently insulated from political pressures.

Teaching Staff

Until World War II, education and health were virtually the only fields of activity where educated Congolese were employed at a near professional level. Teaching, even more than work in a health clinic, derived much prestige from this situation. Since the war, however, the gradual opening up of a broader range of opportunities for social and economic mobility has decreased the relative attractiveness of the teaching profession and reduced the sources of teacher supply. Independence and the concurrent Africanisation of cadres in both the public and the private sectors have carried this process further, depriving the schools of some of their best qualified teachers, forcing the premature promotion of others to vacant posts, and causing the assignment of unprepared teachers to overcrowded classrooms. Even within the school system, the complete Africanisation of primary education personnel was soon followed by the current move to Africanise the secondary level, beginning with the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général." It is obvious that this rapid Africanisation and an improvement in the level of academic and professional preparation of teachers can hardly be accomplished simultaneously. Under these circumstances, the former goal will probably receive priority during the next few years. But one particular feature of the Congolese system will facilitate the eventual correction of this situation. The fact that teachers in both public and private schools are civil servants--with the security and salary conditions carried by this quality--will encourage the young Congolese to base their vocational choice on higher considerations. This is perhaps the best justification for the integration of school teachers into the civil service: the system tends to facilitate the supply and retention of good teachers as long as the interrelated factors of quality and prestige are maintained at a high level. It is to be hoped that rising standards of professional preparation will soon counteract the relative loss of prestige which teachers have suffered in recent years.

The teaching profession in the Congo not only attracts the better talent; indeed, job security is especially attractive to the less qualified. These "less qualified" pose one of the most serious long-term problems facing Congolese education because no matter what new

and desirable directions the education authorities decide to take, the classroom teachers will, in the final analysis, determine the actual content of education. This large number of insufficiently educated and trained teachers is likely to resist any substantial departure from the routine to which they have become accustomed.

Quantitative Outcomes

The quantitative development of Congolese education is remarkable. A conservatively estimated school enrollment of close to 70% of the school-age population is certainly among the highest--if not the highest--in tropical Africa. Such an achievement in one of the more economically deprived areas of Africa requires examination. Many of the obvious factors which have contributed to this development, such as the work of Christian missionaries, an insistent popular demand for schooling and the pressures of the Congolese political leadership have been operating in other African territories with less impressive results. It is therefore necessary to look for some other basic factor, and none seems more likely than the privileged geographic position of the Congo compared with that of Ubanghi-Shari and Chad. From the time of the earliest and limited contacts with the European civilization, the Congo River area has played a unique role and has on the whole benefitted rather than suffered from the kinds of contacts established between Europe and Africa. These religious and commercial contacts have increased the Congolese populations' receptivity for European ideas, attitudes, and institutions. The nineteenth century explorers and missionaries found in the area a fertile ground precisely where they needed one. The region situated between the Atlantic Ocean and Stanley-Pool became and remained a busy corridor, and its two terminal points (Brassaville and Pointe-Noire) naturally developed as the main administrative and commercial centers serving French Equatorial Africa. Building on this initial advantage, the lower Congo--through a circular cumulative process--has up to now been the first to benefit from new development efforts. In education, the first schools and thereafter every new type of educational institutions were established in the lower and middle Congo before they could spread further inland. For instance, the geographic factor enabled the mission schools to flourish, and in even the public schools found there available transportation and eager students. Once launched, the movement provided the opportunities which the Congolese recognized and used. The current development of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale," with its concentration of facilities in Brassaville, is the most recent manifestation of this phenomenon.

In recent years the Congolese leaders have been determined to create more educational opportunities for more people at all levels. Unfortunately, parliamentary debates and policy statements fail to show comparable concern for the content of education--as if education could be obtained first in quantity, then used to serve any desired

purpose. If this were true, the Congolese educational effort could be judged as a success.

The rate of primary school expansion can be expected to decrease gradually over the next decade as the percentage of school-age enrollment approaches 100 and each percentage point becomes more difficult to gain. Interrelated geographic, economic, and social factors will account for this situation regardless of political decisions, but recent policy statements also indicate that emphasis is now shifting to "vertical development." These statements should be interpreted as signs that more attention will be paid to the development of secondary and higher education, and that serious efforts will be made to eliminate "wastage" as the Congolese school children move up the educational ladder. A comparison of the 1957-1958 first grade enrollment with the 1962-1963 sixth grade enrollment shows that (if one ignores the problem of repeaters) of the 28,646 children who started in the first grade in October, 1957, 7,833 were considered ready to take the primary school leaving certificate examination, and only 4,900 passed the examination. This input-to-output ratio is slightly better than one in five. It must also be remembered that passing this certificate examination does not entitle its holder automatically to enter one of the various types of Congolese secondary schools. One can estimate that the present primary school system succeeds in putting one Congolese pupil through the competitive secondary school entrance examination out of every six or seven it starts out with in the first grade. There is obviously great room for improvement in the Congolese primary school system at the "throughput" level. In other words, much work can be done to make the Congolese primary schools accomplish better whatever they have been trying to accomplish.

At the post-primary level, trade and technical education have been expanding at a much slower pace than "general" education. If the Congo were about to embark on an industrial development program, this situation would be viewed with alarm. In fact, this situation reflects the low level of the current demand for technically skilled workers and the pessimistic predictions regarding the future of industrial development in the Congo (see the first chapter). Since the 6 to 16 years of age school attendance law forces the Congolese Government to offer some type of secondary education to all capable pupils in this age group, emphasis on the "Collège d'Enseignement Général" type of schooling is preferable (for the time being) to the haphazard production of narrowly specialized technicians who could only swell the ranks of unemployed specialists. In this way, the training potential of Congolese youth can be raised while the Congo searches for its most promising area of economic opportunities. If and when the Congo successfully starts to move in the economic field, the school will have produced a large pool of young men and women ready to be trained for any specific jobs required.

It has failed to produce a number of highly successful and independent Congolese leaders. Besides, teaching does not offer the advantages of city living and, like commerce,

Qualitative Outcomes

While school examination results may give some indication of how effective the school system is in transmitting a particular body of knowledge and skills, other and perhaps more important areas of content lie largely outside the focal interests of such examinations. Indeed, examination results tell little of the attitude changes, beliefs, and aspirations which result from educational experiences. The three questionnaires submitted by the writer to a sample of Congolese pupils have explored these areas in the hope of collecting more information on the exact nature of the products (the "output") of the Congolese school system. Granted that the attitudes, beliefs, and aspirations revealed have not been produced by the school in isolation from a wider social context, the school remains largely responsible for the observed behavior changes.

On the whole, the results of the questionnaires confirm the common observation that the modern "European" orientation of formal education in the Congo has been highly successful in turning its subjects away from the traditional Congolese way of thinking and living. The occupational choices, the sociometric choices, and the value orientation of Congolese students revealed by the test results summarized in the preceding chapter strongly support the conclusions of more casual observation. The occupations most attractive to sixth and tenth graders (teaching, health services, and technical and scientific careers) are those introduced by the colonizers. All require a certain amount of formal education; most of them are performed in the Congo within the framework of the civil service. No perfect causal relationship is suggested here between formal education and the choice of these careers. The colonial situation as a whole created these careers and attracted the Congolese to them, but formal education made their pursuit feasible. It is interesting that environment and immediate opportunity make little difference in the students' choice: rural sixth graders chose most frequently the same occupational categories as the urban sixth graders--only the order of preference changes, the former group choosing technical and scientific occupations less often than teaching or health services. Together with Public Administration, these three categories account for seventy-five to eighty per cent of all occupational choices at both grade levels.

As expected, the categories Agriculture and Business are the object of very few choices. And, in the case of Agriculture, the few who chose it often indicated their wish to become agricultural engineers or "moniteurs," tasks which require education and which are performed by civil servants. Cultivating the land in the traditional African way attracts no "lettré." Modern agriculture in the Congo is only practiced in connection with the production of a few cash crops controlled by large European companies or by the Government. It has failed to produce models of highly successful and independent Congolese farmers. Besides, farming does not offer the advantages of city living and, like commerce,

it cannot guarantee a steady and relatively high income. This last remark points to the vital elements common to the most popular occupational choices: high income (by traditional Congolese standards) and security. Teachers and textbook writers, as well as preachers and politicians, spend much effort trying to convince school children of the dignity of farming and of manual labor in general. The foregoing analysis suggests that unless these occupations can offer both high income and security these worthy efforts to educate modern farmers will remain largely unsuccessful.

Social service and intrinsic interest are most frequently mentioned among the factors motivating the Congolese students' choice of occupations. However, in the emerging way of life in the Congo, a secure monetary income is one of the best means of helping the family and the nation. Social service, therefore, may still be considered as an important part of the Congolese students' "true" motivation. At least one must conclude that students have understood that being of service to others occupies a high position in the hierarchy of values. This should be expected since the main educative agencies, the parents, the school, and society at large reinforce one another's efforts in transmitting this particular value. The test results even provide an illustration of the effects of formal schooling on the Congolese youths' understanding of "others." Social motives represent 35.8% of responses at the sixth grade level and 29.7% at the tenth grade level. The subjects also indicated what social groups they were willing to serve, i.e., a) kins, tribal groups, and friends; b) nation or humanity. It is significant that the tenth graders appear to have gone much further than the sixth graders in transferring their loyalty from their immediate social circle to the nation or to humanity. If formal education can be credited for much of the shift, this observation has important implications for the role of the school in the development of national consciousness and loyalty.

The test administered by the writer failed to elucidate the question as to whether the Congolese students know what steps they must take in order to fulfill their occupational ambitions. The students' responses give the impression that little attention is being paid by both students and teachers to school and vocational guidance. Here again, as in the case of Congolese leaders with regard to curriculum development, it appears that little importance is attributed to the type and to the precise content of formal courses of studies one takes. The Congolese youths tend to accept on faith an unanalyzed concept of education as an infallible means of fulfilling individual and national ambitions.

The writer's sociometric investigation lends support to previous findings that Congolese classroom units in fact do not operate as well-structured units. The amorphous quality of sixth and tenth grade classes as social units is clearly demonstrated by the very small number of times any one student is chosen or rejected by his classmates.

On the other hand, mixed classes (containing boys and girls, Europeans and Congolese) are markedly divided according to sex and national origin. This finding can be used as an illustration of the fact that the socio-cultural environment of the school extends into the classroom: sex and "racial" integration in the classroom remains only apparent as long as de facto segregation is the general practice in the society at large. By the same token, the writer's sociometric findings indicate that religious differences have little effect on social relationship patterns in the Congo. Also, ethnic (that is, tribal) differences may influence but do not determine the same patterns. While the school's positive contribution to Congolese national unity has been suggested by the test results, there is no evidence that the school currently exerts an adverse influence. Although this contention was hardly in need of support--particularly with reference to ethnic differences--the apparent absence of religious sectarianism among Congolese school children is significant. In a narrow sense, this may ironically represent a partial failure of missionary action, but it also constitutes a strong argument against the frequent African nationalist charge that European missionaries have introduced new and strong divisive forces in African society.

The projective techniques used in this study to measure the elusive changes in attitudes and value orientation can hardly be expected to produce firm conclusions in precisely defined areas. However, they do produce data which support general conclusions already reached on the basis of more casual observation:

1. In areas where "European" values and attitudes are in conflict with traditional African values and attitudes, the Congolese who have been exposed to ten or more years of formal "European" education are turned away from their cultural heritage. This is most evident with reference to the idea of change and progress and to the scientific attitude. The data also bring to light the quasi-unanimity with which the educated Congolese have embraced a modern set of values and attitudes. A deeper and more detailed study would undoubtedly uncover evidence of cultural persistence at different levels of the Congolese personality, but the somewhat superficial responses reported here do demonstrate European influence.

2. In areas where formal European education reinforces traditional African attitudes, the result is consequently a reaffirmation of position. But here again a closer scrutiny might lead to surprising conclusions. For instance, belief in God or loyalty to family and ancestors is reinforced by mission school education, but these concepts differ in more or less subtle ways in the European and in the African cultural contexts. Reinforcement therefore may be only an apparent enhancement because of a lack of precision in our instruments used.

3. Ambivalence characterizes many areas where the transition is still being effected between traditional and modern values and attitudes.

This observation is best illustrated by the position Congolese young men take toward the role of women in the Congolese society: the ideal Congolese young woman, they believe, is a docile, hard-working wife and mother and at the same time is a modern educator, a refined companion, and a politically aware member of a democratic society. Here again the essential fact brought to light by the writer's questionnaire is not the existence of this ambivalence but the evidence that almost all the educated Congolese find themselves in the same ambivalent position. The present attitude of the Congolese "lettrés" with regard to their duties toward family, tribal group, and nation provide an equally valid illustration of this education-produced dilemma.

In spite of the limitations of this questionnaire, this type of investigation focusses on some outcomes of the educative process that school examinations commonly ignore. Furthermore, it gives a voice to a fair cross-section of the student population, the academically unsuccessful as well as the successful. Beyond quantitative results, this analysis attempts to reveal not only how effectively a given body of knowledge and skills contained in a formal curriculum have been transmitted to a number of school children but also the new values, outlook on life, and aspirations which a generation has acquired partly as a result of exposure to formal school experiences. More important, perhaps, it offers a glimpse of the directions which the present generation may give to the education of the next generation.

2. Before World War II, the high primary enjoyed by the colonial enterprise was largely confined to the intentional level. Intentional failure to command the practical means required by the stated ends. Indeed, the fact that for more than a quarter of a century the Roman Catholic Church, harassed as it was in France, was allowed to monopolize the field of Congolese education paradoxically illustrates both France's strong desire to educate and her failure to conduct the necessary funds and personnel required to carry out stated policy.

3. French logic demanded a drastic reduction if not an elimination of the educational role the religious missions had assumed in the Congo and an active involvement of the State; but the practical difficulties were such that logic lost to compromise and ambivalence, to half-hearted support of missionary action, or sometimes to rejection of missionary action with no adequate substitute. In addition to physical and economic factors, including the world-wide depression of the 1930's, which made the development of formal education a most difficult task in the Congo, this politico-religious conflict between the French State and the missions accounts for the stagnation which characterized educational development before World War II.

4. Education in the whole ex-French Equatorial Africa has suffered more than in the Congo. The Congo's privileged position is explained by a combination of factors all more or less closely related to this

CONCLUSIONS AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The Significance of This Study

Some generalizations emerge from the preceding review of the historical development of formal education in the ex-French Congo. Drawing upon the detailed analysis of the educational system presently operating in the newly independent Republic of Congo, upon the apparent effects formal education has had on the ideas, attitudes, and aspirations of the Congolese people, and using the Hanna model for Educational Investment in Human Resources Development, the following are the most significant of these generalizations:

1. Formal education has consistently enjoyed great favor as an instrument of French colonial policy in the Congo, Brazzaville. Instruction of the indigenous populations--so long as it was offered in the French language--has always been considered as a good thing by the French in the Metropole as well as in the colony. A few dissident voices may have been heard among the traders and the concessionary representatives, but their influence in this area has probably not had much effect in practice.
2. Before World War II, the high priority enjoyed by the educational enterprise was largely confined to the intentional level; intentions failed to command the practical means required by the stated ends. Indeed, the fact that for more than a quarter of a century the Roman Catholic Church, ostracized as it was in France, was allowed to monopolize the field of Congolese education paradoxically illustrates both France's strong desire to educate and her failure to commit the necessary funds and personnel required to carry out stated policy.
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4. Education in the whole ex-French Equatorial Africa has suffered more than in the Congo. The Congo's privileged position is explained by a combination of factors all more or less closely related to this

territory's geographic location which influenced Congolese receptivity to the European educative message and made these populations the first beneficiaries of every new educational initiative. The Congo has wisely compounded its initial advantages since the post-war expansion movement was launched and has continued to do so as higher education is being established in equatorial Africa to produce the teaching personnel.

5. From the beginning and until this day, the effect of the content of formal education has been both dynamic and static. The ideas, beliefs, and attitudes consistently communicated by the schools in the French language tended to turn Congolese pupils gradually away from selected aspects of African culture and toward the values of European culture as interpreted and represented by the French educators. This does not mean that the French spoke with one voice in the formal and in the informal educative message they attempted to transmit. Indeed, the two main groups of Frenchmen, the missionaries on the one hand and the civil servants and traders on the other hand, represented two different traditions: that of the "Fille aînée de l'Eglise" (the Eldest Daughter of the Church) and that of the French Revolution. To this value conflict must be added the contribution of the Swedish Protestant missionaries. There is little evidence, however, that the Congolese pupils have paid much attention to the contradictions in the message that they received. The Congolese "évolués" have demonstrated no interest in what they consider as "querelles d'importation."

6. The French formal education message in the Congo was actually assimilative to a high degree. But the French missionaries as well as the French government officials avoided the gross error of assimilating (that is, considering as similar) the cultural and educational backgrounds and needs of the Congolese to those of French children. The necessity to adapt French school programmes, structures, and methods to the Congolese situation was readily recognised from the start of the colonial period. Policy statements reported in this study firmly establish this fact.

7. Even in practice, steps were taken to transfer to the Congo only selected elements of French educational institutions. One can offer in support of this contention the French reluctance to introduce academic and classical studies in the Congo and the mission and public schools' emphasis on the "practical" aspects of curriculum content coupled with a heavy component of manual labor in school gardens and shops.

8. In their effort to adapt the school to the needs of the Congolese society, the French educators have in a limited way been willing to innovate. The integration of vocational and technical training in the formal school system of the Congo does not parallel but precedes by at least a generation a similar development in metropolitan France.

9. In the final analysis, however, one must recognize that the French educators made very little progress toward their goal of educational adaptation to Congolese conditions and needs. Indeed, as the Congolese school system developed it became more and more similar to the French system. This trend toward identity has been reversed only recently as a result of the Africanisation movement. This gap between adaptive policies on the one hand and the growing similarity of French and Congolese school programmes, structures, and methods on the other hand should cause would-be reformers of current African education to pause and reflect. It is clear that the apparent soundness of new educational schemes does not ensure their success in practice. Little is said nowadays about the educational needs of Africa which has not been said in the past three-quarters of a century. Before vast efforts are expended for the implementation of schemes basically similar to old, forgotten ones, serious attempts should be made to discover the factors which caused previous attempts to fail.

10. All schemes developed to adapt formal school institutions transferred to the Congo were naturally influenced by the realization that the Congolese conditions were different from those prevailing in the countries where those institutions originated. But, in the context of the colonial situation, "different" almost invariably meant "inferior." Whether this inferiority was real or not lies beyond the scope of this study. It remains, however, that different conditions were commonly perceived as signs of inferiority by both colonisers and colonised. No wonder differential treatment of the colonised has always met the strenuous resistance of the colonised themselves, whether or not the coloniser's treatment was justifiable in the colonised's own interest.

11. The rapid post-war expansion of primary education in most African colonies reflects great social and political changes in the metropolises and in the colonies. The case of the Congo illustrates the fact that greatly increased educational expenditures were a necessary but not a sufficient factor in this rather phenomenal expansion of educational services. Only those colonies, such as the Congo, which had built a substantial foundation could take full and immediate advantage of the new attitude of the colonial powers with regard to school development. It must be recognized that the work of the religious missions played a very important part in laying the foundations for the development of both private and public schools. Considering the funds and the personnel which France actually committed to educational development, only the combined action of the government and the missions can explain the post-war rise in the Congolese school population.

12. Post-war reforms in the political field allowed Congolese leaders for the first time to influence educational policy and practice applied to their land. The educational aims of the Fourth French Republic with regard to her colonies, consistent with her political goal of granting more local self-government while pursuing a policy

of integration of the colonies within the French Union, were not opposed by the emerging Congolese leadership. Universal primary education and a rapid development of secondary and technical education, the Congolese leaders seemed to realize, could lead to full independence as well as to a restricted measure of self-government.

13. In the field of primary education, Congolese leaders pressed for greater contribution from all available sources, private as well as public. Quantitative development was stressed to the almost complete neglect of the content of courses of studies. Secondary education, however, received most of the Congolese leaders' attention. At this level, "quality" was inseparable from quantity, but the former tended to be measured only in terms of the number of Congolese secondary school graduates admissible every year in French metropolitan institutions of higher learning.

14. French educational policy during the decade preceding Congolese autonomy and independence still included the aim to adapt French educational institutions to the needs of the Congo. But the presence of a larger number of French nationals required the transfer to the Congo of institutions identical to those of the Metropole. Once established in the Congo, the French "lycées" could not deny admission to increasing numbers of Congolese students in the face of French principles of racial equality and of strong Congolese political pressures.

15. By the time Congolese leaders assumed full control over the country's schools, the educational system had become basically identical to that of the Metropole, and the leaders were committed to the ideal of universal primary education geared to the production of qualified candidates for academic secondary schools. Although only a very small percentage of the primary school population could hope to enter the secondary schools--and a still smaller percentage could go on to the university--the whole Congolese school system operates to serve the needs of this small minority.

16. The production of a national élite is an admittedly legitimate function of the Congolese formal school system. Also legitimate is the system's function in spreading literacy and in communicating to the young nation a common body of knowledge, attitudes, and skills required of any group of people entrusted with the responsibilities of self-determination. But a modern educational system also ought to serve other than these mainly political aims. Indeed, current Congolese educational policy gives proper attention to cultural, social, and economic goals to which the schools are supposed to contribute. It appears, however, that Congolese education in the past twenty years has not achieved any sort of balance among its various aims, but has been more successful in the political field--often at the expense of its other aims.

17. The first generation of Congolese leaders who seized power after the enactment of the 1956 "Loi-Cadre" had been trained by the

French for intermediary positions only. Since that time, Congolese secondary schools have produced a sufficient number of "bacheliers" who, following further studies abroad or in local institutions of higher learning, are eager and increasingly capable of filling most of the decision-making positions available. In the present state of development of the Congo, any significant expansion of a secondary school system exclusively geared to the production of an élite may lead to oversupply, waste of trained manpower, and social and political unrest.

18. The Congolese primary school system has reached a level of quantitative development (over 70 per cent of the school-age population are reported attending school) beyond which every gain becomes relatively more difficult and expensive. The mounting wave of pupils finishing the primary schools is currently forcing a massive expansion of secondary school facilities. This movement is not necessarily alarming. Much depends on the career ambitions of the present and future secondary school population and on the type of education offered to them.

19. A survey of the occupational choices of the Congolese school children indicates that an overwhelming majority of the young educated Congolese express interest in a rather narrow range of occupations connected with the tertiary sector of the economy. Occupations in the area of agricultural and even industrial production are the object of very few choices and most of these are specifically related to supervisory positions, not to direct production. Indeed, one of the main characteristics of the occupational patterns revealed by this survey is that most of the chosen occupations can be performed within the framework of the Congolese civil service: teaching, health services, and public administration. Even technical careers, although selected more often than generally expected, are of the "maintenance" type, may be classified as services, and are often performed by civil servants.

20. In view of the sharply limited industrial potential of the Congo, the Congolese school children's lack of enthusiasm for technical and industrial careers is no cause for alarm. But the almost total neglect of agriculture by the school children who have reached the end of the primary school cycle poses one of the most serious problems to the Congo as well as to all tropical African countries. Traditional African agriculture suffers most from the fact that African girls, the traditional African food growers, refuse to follow in their mothers' footsteps as soon as they have been exposed to formal education for some years, and Congolese boys show no inclination to fill the void created by the girls who turn away from agricultural activities.

21. Formal education, at present as well as during the colonial period, makes a negative contribution in the area of Congolese agricultural development. Farming, as currently practiced in the Congo, offers no opportunities to fulfill the aspirations of educated youths, and the school does not communicate to them the desire nor the skills

required to change conditions on the farms. This situation illustrates one of the most persistent vicious circles which hamper economic development: educated Africans cannot be expected to take up farming as long as the prestige, the financial rewards, and the living conditions associated with farming are so low, and farming will not progress and make the essential contribution to economic development as long as educated and skillful Africans abandon the land in the hope of finding employment in the cities.

22. There seems to be an inherent conflict between the three main legitimate social aims of Congolese education. If formal education succeeds in arousing in the young ambitions necessary to sustain their efforts to acquire the tools of leadership, the same education "spoils" the young for the agricultural and industrial tasks which must still be performed by the majority of the population at this stage of Congolese economic development. When the industrialized European countries were at a comparable stage of economic development, a type of formal, leadership-oriented education was offered to a socio-economic élite and another type of education was offered to a number of children from the lower classes. By the time education became compulsory and universal in these countries, the local economies had become better prepared to satisfy the aspirations of an educated population. The French educational institutions presently transferred to the Congo are--at the insistence of the Congolese themselves--of the first type, that is, leadership-oriented. While only a few Congolese can fill the equally few leadership posts available, the majority of the Congolese school children are being taken part of the way toward posts that do not exist and turned away from occupations which badly need performing if the Congolese are to make their full contribution to the economic development of their country.

23. In the past twenty years, Congolese leaders have been single-mindedly concerned with the need to provide formal educational opportunities to an ever greater proportion of the Congolese population. The exact nature of this education was assumed to be unimportant as long as it closely resembled European education and measured up to European standards.

24. The sovereign people of Congo and their leaders must now consider the true effects of formal education--not only its quantitative outcomes, but also the kinds of attitudes, aspirations, and skills it develops in the Congolese youth. Then, on the assumption that educative outcomes are to a large degree causally related to the content of the educative message being transmitted, efforts should be made to devise an educative message most likely to produce the skills and attitudes consistent with the national goals of the Congolese people.

As that, for the first time, groups of scholars and researchers will find an institutional base from which to launch studies related to the preservation, transmission, and transformation of the Congolese cultural heritage. In the case of educational research, it is unfortunate that

Further Research

This study is an attempt to describe the educational system presently in operation in the Congo-Brazzaville. The writer assumed from the start that an historical perspective was an essential condition to the understanding of the present situation. The development of the Congolese school system since 1883 was therefore described in the context of the colonial situation of which it was a part and a product. Since no similar work has been produced in the last thirty years, this part of the study, in spite of its shortcomings, may contribute useful knowledge. Further research in this area is unlikely to produce discoveries which would alter our interpretation of the present situation or suggest radically different solutions to the current educational problems of the Congo.

The analysis of the present Congolese school system, however, constitutes a much greater challenge at all stages of the educational process. This study has explored some of these areas of research and has pointed out some inconsistencies between the nature and purposes of the current Congolese educative message, the adequacy and effectiveness of the means used in the transmission of the message, and the quality of the outcomes of the educative process as they relate to the goals of the Congolese nation.

Hopefully, as the dialogue continues between the Congolese people and their cultural and political leaders, the goals of the new nation will be more clearly identified and formulated. At the same time, educators will play a vital role in translating the national goals into suitable sets of generalizations, attitudes, and skills, that is, into the curriculum which can be communicated to the Congolese youth through the schools in such a way as to produce the desired results. Educators cannot carry out this mission successfully without an improved knowledge of educational processes as they best operate in the Congolese context. The Congolese educators and their French technical advisors are keenly aware of most of the weaknesses of the current system when compared with the standards of modern European educational systems. And ready-made solutions which would make Congolese education conform more closely to the European educational institutions are (naturally, perhaps) being applied in the Congolese context. Current educational outcomes, however, indicate that other solutions might be more appropriate in the areas of educational structures, curriculum, teacher preparation, didactic methods, and tests and measurements. Each of these areas constitutes a rich field of experimentation and research.

One of the greatest advantages which the establishment of higher education institutions will bring to the Congo and to Equatorial Africa is that, for the first time, groups of scholars and researchers will find an institutional base from which to launch studies related to the preservation, transmission, and transformation of the Congolese cultural heritage. In the case of educational research, it is unfortunate that

the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" is currently developing a teacher-training school in Brazzaville and a pedagogical research center 300 miles away in Libreville, Gabon. Although this development may have been partly dictated by political imperatives, it also follows the French pattern which tends to divorce research from teacher preparation and classroom practice. This procedure is least appropriate in the case of newly developing nations that need to make fundamental compatible changes at all stages of their educational systems. More productive efforts will have to be exerted if Congolese formal education is to perform its role as an effective instrument of national goals and aspirations. Research may help find or create such an instrumental role for education.

Produits agricoles

Arachides et produits	6,178	11,100	1,402	1,470
Arachides décortiquées	2,907	10,740	1,374	1,718
Arachides	3,271	3,360	628	752
Café	721	470	200	270
Cacao	281	210	200	204
Caoutchouc	2,470	221	...	1
Caoutchouc	2,470	1,011	...	...
Caoutchouc	2,470	7,470	4,314	6,101
Caoutchouc	241	241	227	212
Caoutchouc	...	11	...	...
Caoutchouc	44	30	30	100
Caoutchouc	51	100	27	41

Produits industriels

Bois d'acacia	1,700	2,817	202	728
Bois de palme	3,120	3,100	3,310	3,334
Bois de pommier	701	420	108	...
Bois de rose	12,701	12,374	...	...
Bois	1,133	1,802	...	...
Bois industriel	4,233	1,341	18	20
Bois	22,700 et	21,000 et	227	100
Bois	813	812	...	...
Bois	1,531	1,980	...	...
Bois de rose	21,847	102,439	84	1,349
Bois de rose	...	1,426	4	71
Bois d'acacia	1,423	3,361	...	2,820
Bois	...	40	...	...

Chasse

Palme et dents d'éléphants (fig)	...	...	2,500	2,387
----------------------------------	-----	-----	-------	-------

Produits miniers

Minéral de zinc	...	1,903	...	1,908
Minéral de plomb	7,649	1,390	7,304	2,643
Stain	45,7	40	20	30
Or	0,081	0,092	0,091	...
Autres minerais	-	-	1,159	0,3

APPENDIX I

PRINCIPALES PRODUCTIONS ET EXPORTATIONS DU CONGO (ANNEE 1961)

Produits	Production		Exportations (en Tonnes)	
	Année 1960	Année 1961	Année 1960	Année 1961
Production Agricole:				
Arachides en coques	8.129	11.164	1.642	1.675
Arachides décortiquées	2.960	13.746	1.318	2.716
Ananas	6,5	30,5	6,5	2,2
Bananes	1.384	3.517	1.327	084
Café	491	426	300	678
Cacao	695	808	520	824
Mala	1.679	622	...	196
Paddy	3.680	1.826	...	...
Palmistes	6.782	7.420	6.514	6.102
Tabac brut	540	788	337	212
Kola	-	11	...	...
Copal	69	52	99	188
Cacoutchouc	96	102	87	81
Produits Industriels:				
Huile d'arachides	1.764	3.617	802	738
Huile de palme	5.134	5.266	3.533	3.356
Huile de palmistes	285	420	198	...
Sucre de canne	13.201	15.324	...	...
Savon	1.133	3.802	...	...
Fêche Industrielle	4.255	2.961	16	20
Bière	32.700 hl	21.098 hl	337	168
Cigarettes	825	852	...	...
Tissus	1.631	1.980	...	...
Pétrole brut	51.847	102.939	86	1.349
Peaux et cuirs	...	1.436	4	71
Tourteaux d'arachides	1.422	3.362	...	2.890
Ricin	...	40	...	...
Chasse:				
Pointes et dents d'éléphants (Kgs)	...	...	2.500	2.587
Produits Miniers:				
Minéral de Zinc	...	1.903	...	1.908
Minéral de Plomb	7.669	1.590	7.304	2.645
Étain	46,7	60	20	56
Or	0,081	0,092	0,091	...
Autres Minerais	-	-	1.159	0,3

APPENDIX I (Continued)

P r o d u i t s	Production		Exportations (en Tonnes)	
	Année 1960	Année 1961	Année 1960	Année 1961
Energie				
Energie électrique (1000 KWH)	26,269	30,942	...	...
Exportation Totale Bois Congo			266.101	258.888
Grumes Bruts:				
Acajou			6.762	7.085
Noyer du Mayombe			180.303	227
Iroko			1.640	3.772
Okoumé qualité loyale			7.357	6.893
Bois caissage			1.067	196
Okoumé autre qualité			27.051	33.298
Noyer du Gabon			317	173.901
Ebène			...	0,1
Autres bois			30.025	29.391
Sciages:				
Iroko équarri			128	9
Noyer du Mayombe équarri			17	62
Ebène			-	3
Acajou			259	208
Noyer du Gabon			12	54
Iroko			193	1.245
Noyer du Mayombe			4.858	2.533
Autres Bois			6.172	6.311
Tonnage global en Kgs	Exportation 1961		Importation 1961	
	395.259.996		294.923.153	
Valeur globale (en F CFA)	4.869.001.033		19.518.109.855	

Source: République du Congo, Service de la Statistique, Ministère des Affaires Economique et des Eaux et Forêts, Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique, No. 7, Octobre-Novembre-Décembre, 1961, Brazzaville.

Note: This elementary school structure is a copy of the French model, but the beginning class of the preparatory course constitutes a special adaptation to African conditions, making the elementary studies last six years instead of five.

APPENDIX II

SELECTED EXCERPTS FROM DECREE NO. 6 OF JANUARY 2ND, 1937,
CONCERNING THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION
IN A.E.F.¹

Article 1. Education provided in the school establishments of A.E.F. consists of:

1. Elementary primary education;
2. Higher primary education;
3. Vocational education;
4. Secondary education;
5. Private education.²

Article 2. Elementary primary education is provided free to children of both sexes:

1. In village schools;
2. In urban regional schools.

Article 3. This education consists of three levels:

The preparatory course ("cours préparatoire")
The elementary course ("cours élémentaire")
The middle course ("cours moyen")

1° The aim of the preparatory course is to teach spoken French, writing, arithmetic (numbers 1 to 100). It includes two sections:

- a) A beginners' section³
- b) The preparatory, properly so called.

Minimum age for admission in the beginners' section is 6; no pupils can be maintained in this section beyond the age of eleven. A pupil who,

1. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., p. 134. Reprinted in "Nos Ecoles," Bulletin de l'Enseignement en A.E.F., No. 1, pp. 4-16.

2. Note: In fact, two parallel school systems, one "public" and one "private" were set up, each consisting of four types of education.

3. Note: This elementary school structure is a copy of the French model, but the beginners' class of the preparatory course constitutes a special adaptation to African conditions, making the elementary studies last six years instead of five.

after 4 years in the preparatory course has not reached the elementary level, must be expelled from school.

2° The aim of the elementary course is to teach written French, arithmetic, hygiene, practical agriculture, and manual work ("travail manuel"). In addition, it teaches some geography and history.

The course consists of two sections, a first and a second year. No pupils can be admitted in the first year if he cannot read fluently, write acceptably in a copy-book, express himself with ease in French on familiar subjects (the school, the village, the trades, plants and animals, etc.), and do the four operations with numbers 1 to 100.

The upper age limit in the second year is 14.

3° The middle course specifies and completes the work undertaken in the elementary course; it prepares to the native school certificate and to the entrance examination for the higher primary school.

No pupil can be kept in the middle course beyond age 15, except in the case of higher primary school candidates who may stay on until age 16. (Limit raised to 17 for the year 1937-38.)

Article 5. Village Schools.

The village school is, in principle, a mixed school (for boys and girls) with three grades: a two-grade preparatory course and the first grade of the elementary course. It is created by the Governor General only in villages which, within a 4 to 5 kilometer radius, can bring together 60 pupils of school age.

Article 6. Urban and Regional Schools.

1° Urban and regional schools consist of all three elementary levels. They have as many classes as the importance of the school population allows. They are opened by decision of the Governor General, depending on the financial conditions of the colony, in cities, district seats, etc.

2° These schools are mixed, except in centers where a girls' public school already exists.

3° The urban and regional schools are directed by a European teacher; his assistants are native "moniteurs."

4° The urban and regional schools are, in addition, further training centers for teachers in service who will be appointed there after a few years in village schools.

Article 7. The Director of an urban or a regional school has the following responsibilities:

1° In addition to the regular duties of a school director, he gives a "model lesson" once a week.

2° On Thursday mornings, he gives to his assistants a further training course ("cours de perfectionnement") of two hours' minimum duration consisting of theoretical and practical pedagogy.

3° He is in charge of extracurricular activities: school cooperatives, school garden, shops, adult courses, the school library, etc.

4° He supervises all the village schools of a school district ("secteur scolaire").

Article 8. Girls' Schools.

In important centers, girls' schools will be set up at the second elementary grade level. In mixed schools, a separate girls' section will be organized at the same level.⁴ In these special schools or sections, a substantial part of the school day (three hours) must be devoted to sewing, home economics, child care, and hygiene. Female teachers are responsible for this type of education.

Articles 10 through 28 concern: discipline, sponsoring committees,⁵ school holidays, school registers, annual reports, pupil recruitment, attendance certificates, medical inspection of pupils, timetables, adult courses, annual vacation, native school certificate (C.E.P.I.), scholarships, school districts, vacation courses, school lands and buildings, and boarding school for "métis."

Article 29. Vocational and Agricultural Education.

Vocational education is provided in three ways:

1° Manual training, whose aim is to develop manual aptitudes in children. In principle, it is intended for all children in the elementary and the higher primary who thus can learn to "tinker" and improve native dwellings and furniture. It is given in shops adjoining the schools.

4. This separation of sexes is consistent with the traditional French school organization patterns.

5. These committees were to perform functions similar to those of Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) in the United States. It is difficult to verify to what extent they operated in A.E.F.

2° Apprenticeship ("apprentissage")⁶ reserved for young men who wish to learn trades in demand in European industry. This type of training is not the responsibility of the primary school, but must be given in vocational schools to students whose manual aptitudes have been identified in the course of manual training. One such vocational school will be established in Brazzaville.

3° African handicraft training aims to improve native techniques while preserving their originality. This type of training is given in "craftsmen quarters," that is, shops adjoining primary or vocational schools. Its pupils are selected among those who show the talent and the desire required.

Agricultural training is offered at two levels:

1° Agricultural education is meant for all pupils in elementary and higher primary schools. It consists of:

- a) Maintenance of a flower garden on the school grounds and in the village.
- b) Cultivation of a vegetable garden: local and European vegetables likely to contribute to native nutrition.
- c) Maintenance of a plantation reserved for cash crops which the Administration's economic policy aims to introduce or improve in the region.
- d) Maintenance of an orchard.
- e) Visits to nurseries, to experimental farms of the Department of Agriculture, and to the best kept native plantations.

2° Agricultural apprenticeship takes place in special schools of agriculture and in farm-schools organized by the Department of Agriculture. It is meant for youths and adults, not for primary school children.

Article 31. School cooperatives ("mutuelles scolaires")⁷ have a dual objective:

- a) To improve the welfare of their members through the sale of produce and objects made by school children in the course of manual training.
- b) To develop the taste for manual work as well as the practice of solidarity and husbandry.

6. The French term "apprentissage" does not necessarily imply "indentured" or "on-the-job training." Here, it means "trade school education."

7. These were created by a decree dated December 19, 1928, and modified in 1933.

Article 32. Higher Primary Education.⁸

Higher primary education is given at the Edouard-Renard School in Brazzaville. Its function is to train the native civil servants of the second-level cadres of A.E.F. and the commercial agents. It also aims at giving the best students the opportunity to pursue their education beyond the elementary level.

Article 33. Secondary Education. 1936, organizing agricultural

Secondary education created in A.E.F. is submitted to the same obligations as in the Metropole regarding admission of students and programs of study.

It will be offered in a "secondary course" in Brazzaville (grades 6 to 3 included), as soon as the circumstances will allow, by a decree of the Governor General.

Article 34. Private Education.

Private education in the A.E.F. has the same objective as public education, and must apply the same methods of instruction.

The practical, non-academic character of the school system organized by the January 2nd, 1937, decree is apparent. The system was also intended to encourage agricultural development. This policy is emphasized by the following decree issued even before 1937:

Article 4. Under the guidance of the Director of the A.E.F. the DECREE of June 4th, 1936, established in all the schools of A.E.F. "Agricultural School Days" ("Journées scolaires de la Culture") devoted to each of the essential crops of its agricultural economy.⁹

8. The "enseignement primaire supérieur" is difficult to locate precisely within the French educational system. It has been said that "Its characteristic is to have no character of its own." It is not "secondary" in the sense that it does not lead to higher general or professional education, although, since 1937, it has been placed under the responsibility of the Department of Secondary Education. But the "cours complémentaire," a very similar structure, was until recently a part of primary education. In many ways it is a continuation of general elementary education, but it often includes training for non-technical occupations.

9. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., p. 619. Reprinted in "Nos Ecoles," op. cit., pp. 75-76.

and Preamble: of the "Ecole Edouard-Baudouin" by the decree No. 7 of January 2nd, 1937: 11

Considering that it is much easier to lead the new generations toward agricultural progress than to make the old generations abandon their outdated methods, and that consequently we must urgently devote our main effort to the education of the more alert, flexible and trustful young minds; Education, has for objectives:

In view of the decree of April 29, 1936, organizing agricultural districts in A.E.F.:

b) Eventually, to provide further opportunities to students who sing: Article 1. "Agricultural School Days" are instituted. v. l. .

Article 2. These "School Days," by district, will be as follows:

Bas-Congo District: tion, to which is attached a section for

Oil-palm Day;
Coffee-tree Day;
Banana-tree Day;
Peanut and Maize Day.

Haut-Congo, Sangha, Oubanghi District:

Oil-palm Day;
Coffee-tree Day;
Cotton-tree Day;
Peanut Day.¹⁰

Article 3. Curriculum--General Education:

Article 4. Under the guidance of the District Chief, of the Director of the school, and of an agricultural specialist, these Days will be devoted to: visits to plantations, natural growths, and fields under cultivation; to demonstrations or lectures on cultivation procedures, the operation of agricultural implements and processing machines (crushers, presses, etc.) owned by planters in Native Provident Societies (Société Indigènes de Prévoyance) which will soon be set up; to a lecture on the agricultural activity of the District, on the organization and the role of Native Provident Societies, etc. . . . Education and

Article 5. At the close of each "Day" an individual assignment will be given to each pupil bearing on what he has seen and remembered. The three best essays in each District will be sent to the Governor General who will grant appropriate rewards. tion; theory and practice of education; school legislation.

Next to the general reorganization of the school system, the most important educational development of this period was the reorganization

10. Similar "Days" are enumerated for each of the four other agricultural districts of A.E.F.

and expansion of the "Ecole Edouard-Renard" by the decree No. 7 of January 2nd, 1937:11

Chairman: Governor, Secretary-General, or his representative.

Members: Director of Cabinet of the Governor General or his

Article 1. The Edouard-Renard School of Brazzaville, administered by the Governor General and placed under the immediate supervision of the Director of Education, has for objectives:

a) To train natives for local administrative cadres and for private commercial enterprise.

b) Eventually, to provide further opportunities to students who simply wish to pursue their studies beyond the elementary level.

Article 2. The School comprises three sections:

1) An Education Section, to which is attached a section for

"moniteurs" and "monitrices"; the School and the results obtained are reported to the Advisory Council. The Council gives its advice on

any matter and particularly on the desirability of size of graduating classes. It expresses wishes regarding possible

modifications of the students.

Article 12. The duration of studies is four years: the two first years are devoted to general education; the third, general and special for selected vocation; the fourth, in large part in the schools (Education), in Administration offices, etc. They are recruited by the Governor General among:

Article 13. Curriculum--General Education:

Moral (theory and practice)

French language

Arithmetic, metric system and geometry

Elementary physical and natural sciences applied to hygiene and

agriculture

History of A.E.F. and French civilization

Geography of A.E.F., France and the world

Handwriting, drawing, music, singing, physical education and

tended manual work

Article 15. Specialized Education:

The students admitted at the Edouard-Renard School enjoyed full

school **Teaching:** psychology applied to education; theory and practice

of education; school legislation.

for a period of ten years. If the graduates decided to join a private

firm **Article 42.** Advisory Council ("Conseil de perfectionnement"):

by the Governor General.

Finally, the Vocational School of Brazzaville should be described
11. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., p. 140 (1937). Quoted in "Nos
Ecoles," op. cit., p. 88.

The Advisory Council is made up of: School of Brazzaville is:

Chairman: Governor, Secretary-General, or his representative.

Members: Director of Cabinet of the Governor General or his representative,

Article 2 The President of the Chamber of Commerce of Brazzaville,
The Director of the Political Bureau,

a) A wood The Director of Education, are-making, carpentry;

b) A meta The Chief of the Department of Agriculture, etc.;

c) A mass The School Doctor,

The School faculty, .

Article 3 The Directors and the Directresses of the primary schools
the Governor General where the students do their practice teaching. Education,
after consultation with the Advisory Council (similar to that of the
Edouard-Renard School).
The Council meets at the call of the Chairman or once a year.

Article 44. The management of the School and the results obtained are reported to the Advisory Council. The Council gives its advice on any material or pedagogical matter and particularly on the desirable size of graduating classes. It expresses wishes regarding possible modifications; it assists in the placements of the students.

Article 45. "Moniteurs" Sections:

The students must hold the C.E.P.I. (Native Certificate of Elementary Education) and be 16 to 17 years of age. They are recruited by the Governor General among:

- 1) The candidates for admission at the Edouard-Renard School who have not passed the competitive examination, but have obtained sufficiently high grades;
- 2) The students of the Edouard-Renard School who apply for a transfer;
- 3) The students of the girls' schools whom the Directress recommends on the basis of intelligence and character.

Article 47. The duration of the course: 12 months (may be extended for three months' periods).

The students admitted at the Edouard-Renard School enjoyed full scholarships, but in return, had to sign a contract under whose terms they were expected to serve the Colony (in teaching or administration) for a period of ten years. If the graduates decided to join a private firm, they were expected to reimburse the Colony at a rate determined by the Governor General.

Finally, the Vocational School of Brazzaville should be described on the basis of the decree No. 8 of January 2nd, 1937:

Article 1. The aim of the Vocational School of Brazzaville is:

- a) To train skilled laborers ("ouvriers spécialisés");
- b) To train foremen and shopmasters.

Article 2. It is made up of three sections:

- a) A wood section: woodwork, furniture-making, carpentry;
- b) A metal section: fitting, forge, auto mechanics, etc.;
- c) A masonry section.

Primary Education

Article 3. As required, new sections may be added by decision of the Governor General on the recommendation of the Director of Education, after consultation with the Advisory Council (similar to that of the Edouard-Renard School).

(1,447) (3,779) (5,915) (2,832)

Public School Enrollment

The students were recruited among middle school pupils from all A.E.F. The course of study lasted four years, most of the fourth one being spent in appropriate shops (Art. 12).

Secondary Education (Higher
Primary & Teacher-Training)

Number of Classes ^a	1	10	14	---
Total Enrollment	10	90	224	623
<u>Vocational Education</u>				
Number of Schools ^b	2	4	20	---
Total Enrollment (Only boys)	40	118	120	1,374 ^c
Percentage of Total Budget Allocated to Education	1.47	1.58	4.74	4.30

a. No private institutions recognized.

b. Classes attached to primary schools not included.

c. Including 176 girls.

d. (---) No data reported.

Sources: For the years 1935, 1939, and 1943, Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., December, 1943 (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle). For 1946, Enseignement Outre-Mer, Bulletin de l'Inspection de l'Enseignement et de la Jeunesse du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Décembre, 1950 (Paris: Société Parisienne d'Imprimerie).

APPENDIX III

SCHOOL STATISTICS FOR THE FOUR A.E.F. TERRITORIES
(1935, 1939, 1943, AND 1946)

	1935	1939	1943	1946
Primary Education				
Number of Classes	152	155	235	--- ^d
Total Enrollment (Girls)	15,871 (1,447)	20,895 (3,799)	25,381 (3,915)	31,562 (2,832)
Public School Enrollment	6,584	9,290	9,512	---
Private School Enrollment	9,287	11,605	15,869	---
Secondary Education (Higher Primary & Teacher-Training)				
Number of Classes ^a	1	3	14	---
Total Enrollment	10	90	224	623
Vocational Education				
Number of Schools ^b	2	4	20	---
Total Enrollment (Only boys)	40	118	426	1,974 ^c
Percentage of Total Budget Allocated to Education	1.47	1.56	4.74	4.20

a. No private institutions recognized.

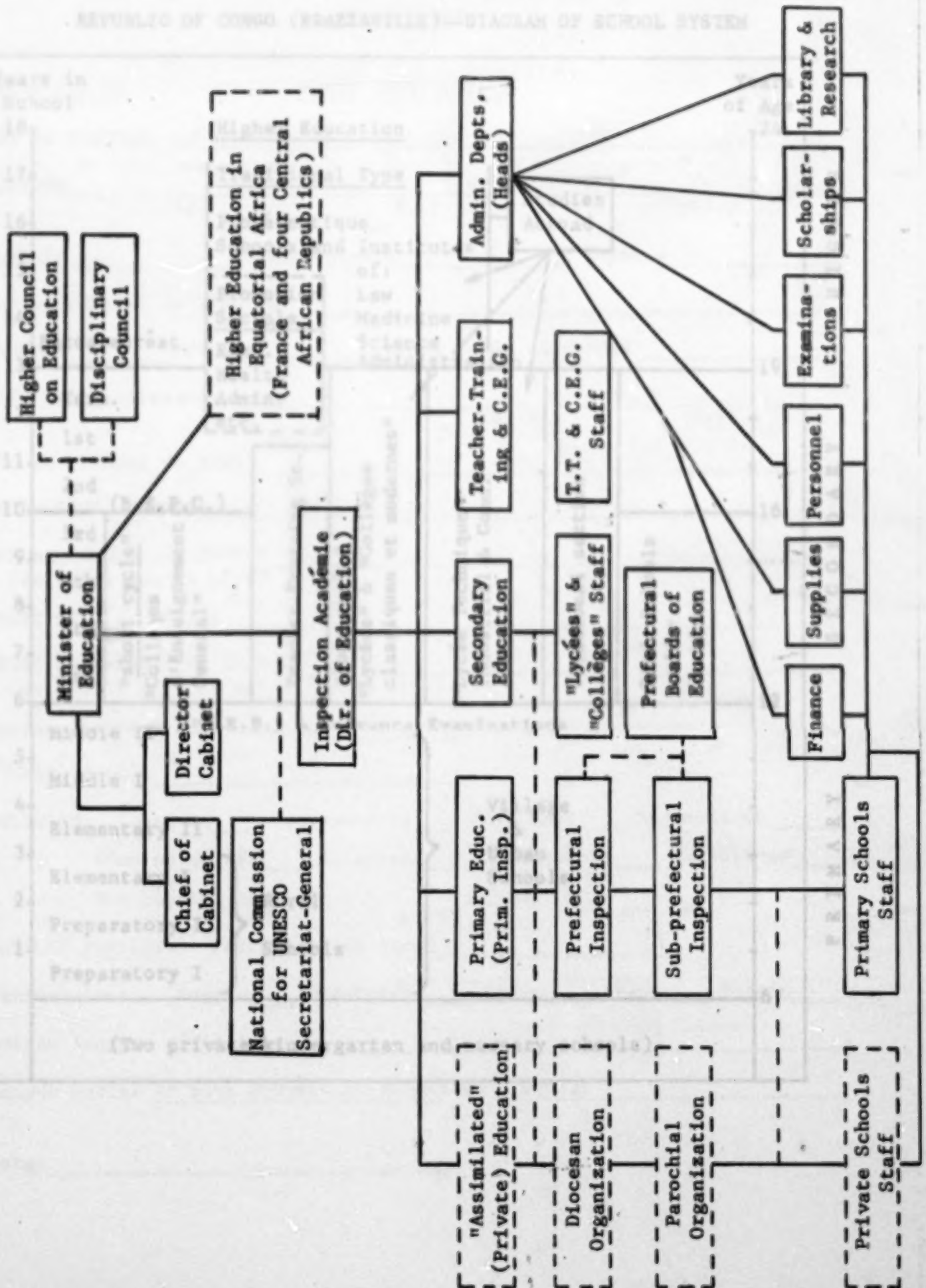
b. Classes attached to primary schools not included.

c. Including 178 girls.

d. (---) No data reported.

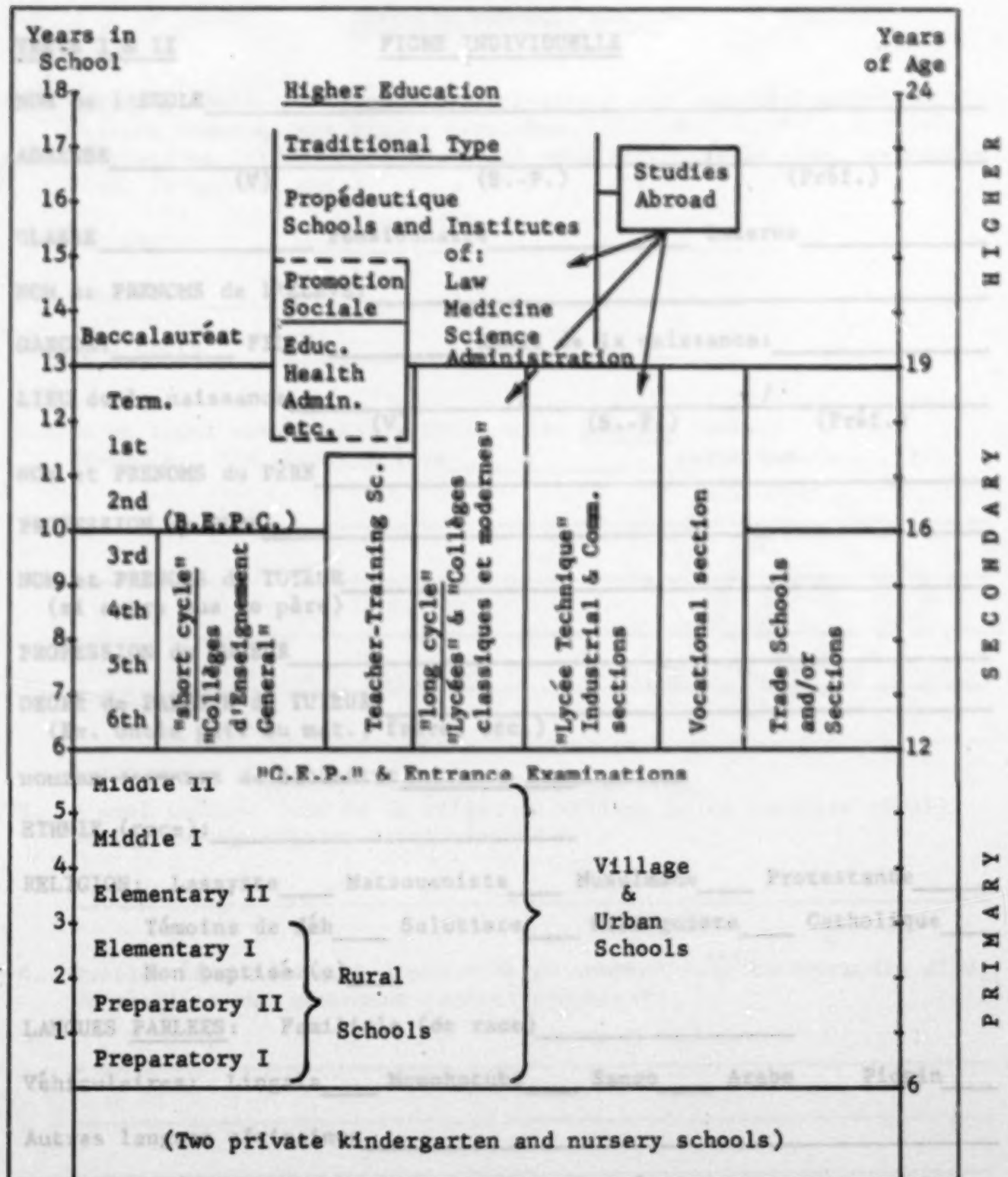
Sources: For the years 1935, 1939, and 1943, Journal Officiel de l'AEF, December, 1943 (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle). For 1946, Enseignement Outre-Mer, Bulletin de l'Inspection de l'Enseignement et de la Jeunesse du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Décembre, 1950 (Paris: Société Parisienne d'Imprimerie).

REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)--ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION



APPENDIX V

REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)--DIAGRAM OF SCHOOL SYSTEM



TEST 1-A

APPENDIX VI

TEST FORMS

TESTS I & II

FICHE INDIVIDUELLE

NOM de l'ECOLE _____

ADRESSE _____
(V) (S.-P.) (Préf.)

CLASSE _____ Pensionnaire _____ Externe _____

NOM et PRENOMS de l'ELEVE: _____

GARCON: _____ FILLE: _____ ANNEE de la naissance: _____

LIEU de la naissance _____
(V) (S.-P.) (Préf.)

NOM et PRENOMS du PERE _____

PROFESSION du PERE _____

NOM et PRENOMS du TUTEUR _____
(si autre que le père)

PROFESSION du TUTEUR _____

DEGRE de PARENTE du TUTEUR _____
(Ex. oncle pat. ou mat., frère, etc.)

NOMBRE d'ANNEES de SCOLARITE _____

ETHNIE (race): _____

RELIGION: Lassyste _____ Matsouaniste _____ Musulmane _____ Protestante _____

Témoins de Jéh _____ Salutiste _____ Kibanguiste _____ Catholique _____

4. Quel Non baptisé (e) _____ apprentissage comptez-vous entreprendre afin
de réaliser vos ambitions professionnelles?

LANGUES PARLEES: Familiale (de race) _____

Véhiculaires: Lingala _____ Monokotuba _____ Sango _____ Arabe _____ Pidgin _____

Autres langues africaines _____

Langue parlée le plus souvent en dehors de l'école: _____

Date: _____

TEST I-AINTERETS PROFESSIONNELS

1. Indiquez trois (3) métiers ou professions que vous désireriez exercer une fois vos études terminées. Indiquez (les) que vous aimeriez (Ecrivez en premier lieu celui qui vous intéresse le plus, en second lieu, le second, etc.)

1er choix _____

2ème choix _____

3ème choix _____

2. Ecrivez le nom du chef de votre équipe si c'est vous, indiquez-le.
 2. En un court paragraphe, motivez votre premier choix.
 (Exemple: "je voudrais être _____ parce que. . .")

3. Par quels élèves aimeriez-vous avoir été choisi?

4. Quels sont les élèves dont vous ne voudriez pas dans votre équipe de travail?

3. A quel endroit (nom de la ville, du village ou du district rural) voudriez-vous exercer votre métier? Quel (ou laquelle) il vous plairait le plus de faire une promenade?

4. Quelles études ou quel apprentissage comptez-vous entreprendre afin de réaliser vos ambitions professionnelles?

TEST IIEQUIPES DE TRAVAIL

1. Ecrivez les noms et prénoms (dans l'ordre indiqué ci-dessous) de trois (3) élèves de votre classe avec lesquels (les) vous aimeriez travailler en équipe.

1er choix _____

2ème choix _____

3ème choix _____

2. Ecrivez le nom du chef de cette équipe; si c'est vous, indiquez-le.

Chef d'équipe: _____

3. Par quels élèves croyez-vous avoir été choisi?

4. Quels sont les élèves dont vous ne voudriez pas dans votre équipe de travail?

5. Nommez l'élève (1 seulement) avec lequel (ou laquelle) il vous plairait le plus de faire une promenade?

(Exemple: "Je voudrais être _____ parce que . . .")

6. A quel endroit (nom de la ville, du village ou du district rural) voudriez-vous exercer votre métier (de vos choix)?

7. Quelles études ou quel apprentissage comptez-vous entreprendre afin de réaliser vos ambitions professionnelles?

Date: _____

ALTERNATIVE TEST I-BINTERETS PROFESSIONNELSFICHE INDIVIDUELLE

1. Dans la liste ci-dessous, barrez les métiers qui ne vous intéressent pas ou qui vous intéressent peu, jusqu'à ce qu'il n'en reste que cinq au maximum.

ADRESSE	Militaire	Instituteur (trice)
	Téléphoniste	Electricien
LIEU DE NAISSANCE	Forgeron	Dessinateur (trice)
	Empl. de bureau	Plombier
ETHNIE	Opérateur-radio	Prêtre (pasteur)
	Empl. de boutique	Ménagère
SEXE	Planton	Empl. de voirie
	Infirmier (ère)	Chauffeur
CÉLIBATAIRE	Dactylographe	Religieux (euse)
	Médecin	Ingénieur
MARIAGE	Gérant (e) de boutique	Maçon
	Agent de police	Coiffeur (euse)
PROFESSION	Tailleur (couturière)	Menuisier
	Avocat	Pêcheur
PROFESSION	Peintre	Cordonnier
	Mécanicien	Artisan
ÉCOLES FREQUENTÉES	Comptable	
	Sténo-dactylo	Empl. P.T.T.
	Cultivateur	Mécanicien-CFCO
	Aviateur	Maraîcher (ère)

2. Placez dans l'ordre de préférence les 5 métiers choisis.

1) _____	4) _____
2) _____	5) _____
3) _____	

3. En un court paragraphe, motivez votre premier choix.
(Exemple: "je voudrais être _____ parce que . . .")

LANGUE PARLÉE la plus souvent en dehors de l'école: _____

4. A quel endroit (nom de la ville, du village ou du district rural) voudriez-vous exercer votre métier (de 1er choix)?

5. Quels études ou quel apprentissage comptez-vous entreprendre afin de réaliser vos ambitions professionnelles?

Date _____

TEST III**EXERCICE DE COMPLÉMENT DE PHRASE****FICHE INDIVIDUELLE**

NOM de l'ECOLE _____

ADRESSE _____

LIEU de naissance _____ / _____ / _____
(V) (S.-P.) (Préf.)

ETHNIE _____ RELIGION _____

SEXE _____ AGE _____

CELIBATAIRE _____ MARIE (E) _____ DIVORCE (E) _____ VEUF (VE) _____

MARIAGE coutumier _____ officiel _____ religieux _____

PROFESSION du PERE _____

PROFESSION du TUTEUR _____

ECOLES FREQUENTÉES:

(nom)	(O ou P)	(Degré du cours)	(Diplôme obtenu)
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

METIER EXERCE (s'il y a lieu) _____ (nom) _____ (années d'exp.) _____

METIER auquel vous vous préparez _____

LANGUE PARLEE le plus souvent en dehors de l'école: _____

18. Les fatigues sont _____

19. La nudité est _____

20. Pour réussir, il faut _____

21. Les bars et les dancings sont _____

22. Le niveau de vie des classes populaires devrait _____

TEST III

A - EXERCICE DE COMPLEMENT DE PHRASES

23. Veuillez compléter les phrases suivantes à l'aide de un ou plusieurs mots qui vous viendront immédiatement à l'esprit.

24. Dans une famille _____
25. Les gens bien connus sont _____
26. J'aurais désiré que mes parents _____
27. Inutile de se plaindre _____
28. Tous les hommes sont nés _____
29. Les professeurs devraient _____
30. Les artistes sont _____
31. L'honnêteté est _____
32. N'importe qui peut aspirer aux plus hauts postes si _____
33. Les étrangers devraient _____
34. Les intellectuels devraient _____
35. Si j'avais un fils, je voudrais qu'il _____
36. Les gens qui réussissent le mieux _____
37. Les riches devraient _____
38. Un enfant bien élevé doit _____
39. Chacun devrait désirer _____
40. Ce qui est fait est fait, _____
41. J'aurais voulu avoir _____
42. De bons parents doivent _____
43. Ce n'est pas l'origine d'une personne qui compte, c'est _____
44. L'individu est _____
45. Les féticheurs sont _____
46. La nudité est _____
47. Pour réussir, il faut _____
48. Les bars et les dancings sont _____
49. Le niveau de vie des classes populaires devrait _____

23. Les ancêtres sont _____
24. Dans une famille, on doit _____
25. Le temps, c'est _____
26. Les gens bien connus sont _____
27. Inutile de se plaindre _____
28. Les professeurs devraient _____

Vous êtes prié de commenter brièvement ce texte.

TEST III-B

Décrivez, en un court paragraphe, votre conception:¹

1. Du parfait jeune homme congolais

2. De la parfaite jeune femme congolaise

1. L'âge n'est pas spécifié, mais on insiste que ceci doit représenter votre conception.

TEST III-C

Un jeune Africain a écrit: "Ici, quoi qu'on en dise, aucune institution bien définie ne marque un développement quelconque. Tout est à faire. Pas une langue pouvant servir à toutes les parties du pays, à peine des dialectes locaux. En matière de morale: des institutions fétichistes naïves et plus ou moins incohérentes. Au point de vue artistique? Des créations spontanées sans principes fixes. Donc rien que des virtualités."

Published

Vous êtes prié de commenter brièvement ce texte.

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